A
HANDBOOK
OF
PATROLOGY

BY

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BASED UPON THE FOURTH
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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

P. G. = Patrologiae Cursus Completus … accurante J.-P. MIGNE, series graeca (Paris, 1857-1866).

P. L. = Patrologiae Cursus Completus … accurante J.-P. MIGNE, series latina (Paris, 1844-1855).

C. S. E. L.= *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vindobonae, 1866 ff.).

Christl. Schriftst. = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1897 ff.).

T. U. = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1882 ff.).

D. C. B. = *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, edited by W. SMITH and H. WACE (London, 1877-1887).

A HANDBOOK OF PATROLOGY

INTRODUCTION

1. Preliminary Remarks – The Purpose of this Book

Christian Literature is the name given to the collection of writings composed by Christian writers upon Christian subjects. This excludes both the works of Christian authors upon profane subjects (there are many such in our days on positive science or history) and the works of non-Christians upon Christian subjects, *v.g*., the *True Discourse* of Celsus.

Ancient Christian Literature is that of the early centuries of Christianity or of Christian antiquity. Authors generally fix the limit at the death of St. John of Damascus (c. 749) for the Greek Church, and at the death of St. Gregory the Great (604) or, better, of St. Isidore of Seville (636) for the Latin Church. This was the time when new elements, borrowed from the barbarians, began considerably to modify the purity of the Latin genius.

Ancient Christian Literature, thus defined, comprises the New Testament, writings composed by Christians and essentially Christian in character, and the works of such heretics as may still be called Christians. It has been viewed in this light and dealt with in this way by Harnack in his *History of Ancient Christian Literature up to the Time of Eusebius* and by Msgr. Batiffol in his *Greek Literature*.[1]

Other writers until recently the majority among Catholics have excluded from their histories of Christian literature not only the books of the New Testament, which are the object of an independent study, but also the writings [2] of notorious heretics condemned by the Church. There seems thus to be a tendency to reduce the history of Ancient Christian literature to a history of the writings of the Fathers of the Church (*Patrology*).

The title *Father of the Church*, which has its origin in the name of "Father" given to bishops[2] as early as the second century, was commonly used in the fifth century to designate the old ecclesiastical writers—ordinarily bishops—who died in the faith and in communion with the Church. According to modern theologians, the title applies only to those writers who have the four following qualifications: *orthodoxy of doctrine*, *holiness of life*, *ecclesiastical sanction*, and *antiquity*. Practically, however, it is given to many others who do not possess the first three requisites. Nobody, indeed, would dream of eliminating from the list of the "Fathers" such men as Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Faustus of Riez, etc. Errors have been laid to their charge, but these mar their works without making them more dangerous than useful; whilst they are wrong on a few points, there is in them much that is good. At all events, they eminently deserve the title of *Ecclesiastical Writers*.[3]

However comprehensive may be the name "Fathers of the Church," *Patrology* is the study of the life and works of the men designated by that name. As a science, then, it is part of the History of Ancient Christian Literature, since it excludes from the field of its labors both the canonical writings of the New Testament and all writings that are strictly and entirely heretical. On this latter point, however, most authors exercise a certain tolerance. As a knowledge of heretical works is very often useful, nay even necessary, for understanding the refutations written by the Fathers, most Patrologies do not hesitate to mention and describe at least the principal ones. We will follow this [3] method: not mentioning the New Testament

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[1] His own contribution to the chapter on "Anciennes litteratures chrétiennes" in the collection "*Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Écclésiastique*," published under the direction of the learned prelate. (Tr.)

[2] Cf. *Martyrium Polycarpi*, XXI, 2: (Πολύκαρπος) ὁ πατὴρ τῶν χριστιανῶν, *Polycarp the father of Christians*.

[3] To be a *Doctor of the Church*, antiquity is not required; however, besides the three other qualifications requisite in a Father, an eminent degree of learning is also necessary, together with a special declaration by ecclesiastical authority. The four great doctors recognized by the Latin Church are: St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; the three great ecumenical doctors of the Greek Church are: St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and St. John Chrysostom.

writings, but describing, in part at least, and very briefly, the heterodox writings best known in the early centuries.

The question may be raised here: Is Patrology to comprise not only the history of the life and works of the Fathers, but also a summary of their doctrine; that is, must Patrology supply the elements of a Patristic Theology? Theoretically, yes; but in practice nothing could be more difficult. A Patrology which would attempt to give even a very condensed summary of the teaching of each and every Father would have to be very lengthy and full of repetitions. If, on the other hand, such a work simply pointed out teachings not original and instead limited itself to what is proper and personal in each, it would give a false—because incomplete—impression of each author's doctrine.[1]

For this reason we think it better to draw a line of strict demarcation between Patrology and Patristic Science and leave the teaching of the Fathers to the History of Dogma. The two sciences cannot but gain by being studied separately. The most Patrology can do is to indicate, in the case of some of the Fathers, the points of doctrine they have best illustrated.

2. MAIN WORKS ON PATROLOGY AND ON THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

As the history of Ancient Christian Literature is merely a part of the general history of the Church, all ancient and modern Church historians have concerned themselves more or less with it.

In antiquity, EUSEBIUS is the principal source. Although he wrote no special book on the Christian authors who preceded him, his *History* contains many notices concerning both the authors themselves and their writings. These notices are all the more precious as many of the writings which he cites have disappeared and are known to us only through him.

ST. JEROME was the first to compile a lengthy catalogue [4] of ancient Christian writers and their works. He did so in 392, at the suggestion of a layman named Dexter. This is the famous *De Viris Illustribus*, which comprises 135 accounts. He is greatly indebted to Eusebius, but in that part of the work which represents his own researches there are many errors and omissions. His is the merit, however, of being the first to attempt such a work and to incite others to follow his example.

The catalogue of St. Jerome was continued under the same title by GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES, who brought it up to the end of the fifth century. Gennadius added 97 or 98 notices, a few of which have perhaps been interpolated.

The work of Gennadius was continued, under the same title, first by ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (d. 636), and afterwards by ST. ILDEFONSUS OF TOLEDO (d. 667).

In the East, we must name the patriarch PHOTIUS (d. about 891), whose *Library* contains 279 notices of authors or works read by him, and but for whom many works would be entirely unknown to us.

The History of Christian Literature was not neglected in the Middle Ages. Among others, we must point out the precious Catalogue of EBED-JESU, metropolitan of Nisibis, written in 1298 (edited by ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, 1), and the learned work of Abbot JOHN TRITHEMIUS, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, written in 1494. As this last book treats more especially of writers who flourished after the Patristic age, we may well pass over it here.

In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, besides the *Memoirs* of TILLEMONT, still useful for reference, the most frequently quoted histories of Ancient Christian Literature are those of W. CAVE, *Scriptorum Ecclcsiasticorum Historia Litteraria*, London, 1688, completed by H. WHARTON in 1689, Oxford edit., 1740-1743; FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca, seu Notitia Scriptorum Veterum Graecorum*, 1705-1728,

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[1] This is what has happened to Nirschl, Fessler, Rauschen, and even Bardenhewer. Nirschl's plan of citing at the end of each of his notices on the Fathers a few of their most important texts, has been taken up and scientifically realized by J. ROUET DE JOURNEL, *Enchiridion Patristicum*,[2] Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1913. This work will abundantly supply what we omit.

reedited by J. CHR. HARLEZ, Hamburg, 1790-1809, and L. ELLIES DU PIN, *Nouvelle Bibliothèquc des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1686-1714 (on the Index); D. R. CEILLIER, O. S. B., *Histoire Générale des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1729-1763; reëdited 1858-1869.

In the XIXth and XXth centuries a number of more or less complete works on our subject were published. To mention only the principal and most recent, the whole period of the first six or seven centuries has been treated [5] in the Catholic works of J. NIRSCHL, *Lehrbuch der Patrologie und Patristik*, Mainz, 1881-1885, 3 vol.; FESSLER-JUNGMANN, *Institutions Patrologiae*, Oeniponte, 1890-1896, 2 vol. (an excellent work, especially with regard to the Latin Fathers from the Vth to the VIIth century); O. BARDENHEWER, *Patrologie*,[1] 3rd edit., Freiburg i. B., 1910; French translation by GODET AND VERSCHAFFEL, *Les Pères de l'Église*, Paris, 1905, 3 vol.; English translation by SHAHAN, *Patrology*, St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908; H. KIHN, *Patrologie*, Paderborn, 1904-1908, 2 vol.; G. RAUSCHEN, *Grundriss der Patrologie*, 3rd ed., 1903; French translation by E. RICARD, *Eléments de Patrologie et d'Histoire des Dogmes*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1911; and the Protestant work (less useful) of H. JORDAN, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1911.

Other works, equally or even more important, include only part of the subject: A. HARNACK, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, 2 parts in 3 vols., Leipzig, 1893-1904; G. KRÜGER, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Freiburg i. B., 1895, supplement in 1897; A. EHRHARD, in K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1897; O. STÄHLIN, in W. VON CHRIST, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 5th ed., Munich, 1914; A. EBERT, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, 2nd ed., 1889; French translation by AYMERIC and CONDAMIN, 3 vols., Paris, 1883; P. BATIFFOL, Ancient Christian Literatures in *La Littérature Grecque*, 4th ed., Paris, 1905; R. DUVAL, Anc. Chr. Lit. in *La Littérature Syriaque*, 3rd edit., Paris, 1907; P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de I Afrique chrétienne*, 4 vols. of which have appeared, Paris, 1901-1912.

One has to refer to some of these works when undertaking any kind of advanced study of the Fathers or of the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers. The present volume is only an unpretentious handbook of precise, but necessarily limited, information. [6]

3. PRINCIPAL PATROLOGICAL COLLECTIONS

In the editing of the works of the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers, there are three successive periods. The first is that of the *editiones principes*, published by the scholars of the XVIth century,—Estienne, Froben, Erasmus, etc. Several of these editions have become so rare that they are as valuable as the now lost manuscripts from which they were made. The second period is that of the editions of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, published by the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, the Jesuits, the Oratorians, etc. These are the editions now most frequently cited. Finally, for the past thirty years or so, new discoveries and facilities for consulting manuscripts have created a new output of collections. The result of this work will be seen further on.

The first great collection ever compiled of the Ancient Ecclesiastical Writers is that of MARGUERIN DE LA BIGNE, canon of Bayeux (d. 1589). His *Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum*, in nine volumes (Paris, 1575-1579), contained the text of more than 200 writers of the early and Middle Ages. This work developed into the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* of Lyons, in 27 folio vols. (1677), and was later completed and corrected, or supplanted by analogous collections, by FR. COMBEFIS, O. P. (d. 1679), in 1648 and 1672; J. B. COTELIER (d. 1686) in 1677 to 1686; BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON (d. 1741) in 1706; and especially by the Oratorian, ANDR. GALLANDI (d. 1779), in 1765-1781 and 1788. However, one collection has practically superseded them all, namely, that of J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*. This work comprises two series: (1) that of the Latin Fathers, from the very beginning to the pontificate of Innocent III (1216), in 217

[1] Besides this handbook of Patrology, BARDENHEWER has also undertaken the publication of a *History of Ancient Ecclesiastical Literature* (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*), Freiburg i. B., 1902 and ff., only three volumes of which have appeared so far (the first in 2nd edit, 1913).

volumes (Paris, 1844-1855); and (2) that of the Greek Fathers, up to the Council of Florence (1439), in 162 volumes (Paris, 1857-1866).[1] One should not be surprised to encounter in such a gigantic work some weak points and parts that need recasting, nor to find here and there a few omissions, repetitions, and digressions. The ensemble of Migne's work [7] is none the less remarkable. Following, as he did, Mai and Routh, and advised by Pitra, Migne profited by the works and knowledge of these learned scholars. The ancient editions that he reproduced are nearly always well chosen, and he improved upon them by adding dissertations and studies of more recent date. His collection is almost complete, issued in a handy form, and moderately priced; the Latin language, used throughout in the translations and notes makes the work convenient for use everywhere. In spite of the criticism directed against them, the *Patrologies* of Migne have stood and will for a long time continue to stand as a fundamental work.

Since Migne's time, however, three great collections have been published, or are in process of publication, with a view of improving upon his work and completing it. They are:

1. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, Berolini, 1877-1898, 13 vols., 4º.

2. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, editum cons. et impens. Academiae Litterarum Caesareae Vindobonensis*, Vindobonae, 1866 ff., very careful though of unequal value, in handy 8º form, and all in Latin. The publication of this work is being carried on without regard to chronological order.

3. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, published by the Berlin Academy, Leipzig, 1897 ff., of which about 30 volumes have appeared. The introductions and critical apparatus are in German.

The collections we have just mentioned comprise only Greek and Latin authors. For the Oriental writers we have had so far only the great work of J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, Romae, 1719-1728, 4 vols., which is less a collection than a developed catalogue of authors and manuscripts. In our own days two or three great collections are beginning to supply this omission, namely:

R. GRAFFIN, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Paris, 1894 ff. (2 vols.), continued by R. GRAFFIN AND F. NAU, *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris, 1903 ff., of which 13 vols. have so far appeared. The Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic texts are accompanied by a Latin, French or English translation. The chronological order is followed and the same volume contains works of different languages. [8]

J. B. CHABOT, I. GUIDI, H. HYVERNAT, B. CARRA DE VAUX, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Paris, 1903 ff. This collection is divided into four series: Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic writers, distinguishable by the different colors of the volumes. The translations are edited and sold separately.

Besides these great and costly works, there have been, or are being, published less pretentious collections mainly for the use of students. Such are in France, the *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, by H. HEMMER AND P. LEJAY, Paris, 1904 ff., in handy 16º size and accompanied by French translations. In Germany, besides the collection of H. HURTER, SS. *Patrum Opuscula Selecta*, Oeniponti, 1868-1885 (48 vol.), 2nd series 1884-1892 (6 vol.), we have the collections of G. KRÜGER, *Sammlung*, etc., Freiburg i. B., 1891-1896, 2nd series 1901 ff.; H. LIETZMANN, *Kleine Texte*, etc., Bonn, 1902 ff.; G. RAUSCHEN, *Florilegium Patristicum*, Bonnae, 1904 ff. In England, the *Cambridge Patristic Texts* of A. J. MASON, Cambridge, 1899 ff.; in Italy, the *Bibliotheca SS. Patrum* of J. VIZZINI, Rome, 1902 ff.

Finally, let us mention, as comprising both texts and critical studies, two important publications:

Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichcn Literatur, Leipzig, 1882 ff.,—three 8º series published under the direction of O. VON GEBHARDT, A. HARNACK, and C. SCHMIDT.

[1] To this we must add four volumes of tables for the Latin series (Paris, 1862-1864). Migne was unable to give the tables of the Greek series, which have been lately compiled and edited by F. CAVALLERA, Paris, 1912.

Texts and Studies, Cambridge, 1891 ff., 8, under the direction of ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

Several of these publications enable even those who are not specialists to become acquainted with Patristic Literature and read its most remarkable productions. While the majority of these productions cannot compare with the classics for purity of diction and elegance of style, they certainly surpass the latter in importance of purpose, elevation of moral ideals, and intensity of faith and zeal.

The history of Ancient Christian Literature naturally falls into three periods: (i) the period of beginning and growth, down to the Council of Nicaea (325), or, better, to the peace of Constantine (313); (2) The golden age of Patrology, from the peace of Constantine to the death of St. Leo the Great (461); (3) the period of decline, down to 636 in the West and 750 in the East.

[9]

FIRST PERIOD

BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE THE FATHERS OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

SECTION I

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

"*Apostolic Fathers*" is the name given to a certain number of writers or writings (several of which are anonymous) dating from the end of the first or from the first half of the second century. The name has been selected because the authors are supposed to have known the Apostles and also because their works represent a teaching derived immediately, or almost immediately, from the Apostles. These writings are, indeed, a continuation of the Gospels and of Apostolic literature.

On the other hand, these works have neither the intense vividness of the canonical books nor the fullness of theological thought found in the literature of a later period. With the exception of St. Ignatius, their authors do not show much intellectual power or ability, which goes to prove that, in the beginning, the Church recruited her members chiefly from among the illiterate. Nevertheless, the writings of these men are of great value to us, both on account of their antiquity and because they show how the Christians of the second and third generations understood the work of Christ and of his Apostles.

There are about ten Apostolic Fathers. One-half of their writings is made up of epistles (Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Pseudo-Barnabas); the other half comprises doctrinal, parenetic or disciplinary treatises (The *Didaché*, the "*Secunda Clementis*," the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Papias, *The Apostles Creed*).[1] [10]

1. ST. CLEMENT[2]

According to the most trustworthy tradition, ST. CLEMENT was the third successor of St. Peter and the fourth bishop of Rome. Nothing warrants our identifying him with the Clement of whom St. Paul speaks when writing to the Philippians[3] and still less with Flavius Clemens, a consul, cousin of the Emperor Domitian, who was beheaded in 95 or 96. St. Clement probably knew the Apostles. He was presumably a freedman, or the son of a freedman, of the *gens* Flavia, whence he derived his name. Be this as it may, Clement was certainly in some respects a remarkable pontiff, since he made a profound impression on the early Church. Two "Letters to Virgins," two "Letters to James," the brother of the Lord, and a collection of Homilies are ascribed to him, besides the so-called "Second Letter to the Corinthians"; he is also given a prominent part in the romance of the "*Recognitions*."

At the end of the IVth century Rome honored him as a martyr; the alleged acts of his martyrdom, however, are not authentic, but belong to another Clement, a Greek martyr buried at Cherson.

Of Pope St. Clement we possess only one authentic writing, the *Epistle to the Corinthians* (*Epistola Prima Clementis*). It is contained in two Greek MS., the "Alexandrinus," probably belonging to the IVth century (now in the British Museum), and the "*Constantinopolitanus*" or, better, "*Hierosolymitanus*," dating from 1056 (kept in Jerusalem). In the former manuscript chapters lvii, 6-lxiii, 4 are missing; the latter is

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[1] The edition of the Apostolic Fathers by Migne (*P. G.*, I, II, V) is insufficient. The student must use that of F. X. FUNK, *Patres Apostolici*, Tubingae, 1901, in 2 vols., with Latin translation and notes (the second vol. revised and reedited by F. DIEKAMP, 1913), or separate editions of the collection of HEMMER and LEJAY indicated below. Cf. also the minor editions (without translation or notes) of FUNK and HARNACK, GEBHARDT and ZAHN. See FREPPEL, *Les Pères Apostoliques et leur Èpoque*, Paris, 4° éd., 1885.

[2] Editions apart from his epistle by H. HEMMER, *Les Pères Apostoliques*, II, Paris, 1909; J. B. LIGHTFOOT, *Clement of Rome*, 2e Ed., 1890 (the richest in information of all kinds); R. KNOPF, *Der erste Clemensbrief*, Leipzig, 1899. Good doctrinal commentary by W. SCHERER, *Der erste Clemensbrief an die Korinther*, Regensburg, 1902.

[3] Phil. iv, 3.

complete. There exist, furthermore, a very literal Latin version, which seems to go back [11] to the 2nd century,[1] a Syriac version,[2] and two incomplete Coptic versions.[3]

This epistle is anonymous. It introduces itself as a letter from "the Church of God which is in Rome to the Church of God which is in Corinth." Although the letter is written in the name of a community, it is undoubtedly the work of an individual and this individual is Clement. Denis of Corinth (170-175?) gives us decisive proof of this, and it would be difficult to find anyone in a position to be better informed than he was.[4] To his testimony we may add those of Hegesippus,[5] of Clement of Alexandria, and of St. Irenaeus.[6] St. Polycarp was certainly acquainted with this epistle, since he made it the pattern of his own to the Philippians, and this circumstance alone is sufficient proof that the letter dates back approximately to the time of St. Clement.

Clement's pontificate is to be placed between the years 92 and 101. His letter was written after a persecution which appears to be that of Domitian. As this persecution ended in 95 or 96, Clement must have written to the Corinthians between the years 95 and 98.

The occasion was a schism which had broken out in the Church of Corinth. One or two ringleaders[7] had stirred up the faithful against the presbyters, of whom several, of irreproachable life, had driven them from office. We are ignorant of the nature of the accusation raised against them. The Church of Rome learned of these troubles through public rumor, for notwithstanding what is said in ch. I, 1, it does not seem probable that the Church of Rome was informed and asked to intervene by the Church of Corinth. Clement, as pope, intervened for the purpose of restoring peace and pointing out means of remedying the trouble.

The Epistle is divided into two main parts. The first is general (iv-xxxviii) and contains a series of exhortations to [12] the practice of charity, penance, obedience, humility, faith, etc., calculated to insure a spirit of concord among the faithful. The train of thought is interrupted (xxiii-xxx) by a lengthy parenthesis on the certainty of the future resurrection. The second part (xxxix-lix) deals more directly with the troubles at Corinth. God, says Clement, established the ecclesiastical hierarchy and sent Christ. Christ appointed the Apostles, who appointed bishops and deacons, who in turn, as the necessity arose, chose other men to succeed them. To these men the faithful owe submission and obedience, and this is why they who drove the presbyters from office have sinned. They must do penance and withdraw for a time from Corinth, in order that peace may be re-established. Then follows a long prayer (lix, -3 lxi), in which praises to God and supplications for the Christians and for the authorities succeed one another. The letter concludes with fresh exhortations to unity and with spiritual good wishes (Ixii-lxv).

In the early Church the Epistle of St. Clement was held in the greatest esteem. Some authors even went so far as to rank it with the inspired writings. St. Irenaeus calls it "very powerful"; Eusebius pronounces it "grand and admirable" and testifies to the fact that in several churches it was read publicly at the meetings of the faithful.[8] The letter is worthy of such esteem because of the happy blending of firmness and kindness which characterizes it, and the shrewdness of observation, delicacy of touch and lofty sentiments which the author manifests throughout. The great prayer at the conclusion has a majestic swing. Unfortunately, the abuse of Old Testament quotations, especially in the first part, often interferes with the development of the author's thought and prevents it from attaining its highest flight.

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[1] Discovered and edited by D. G. MORIN, *S. Clementis Romani ad Corinthios Epistulae Versio Latino Antiquissima*, Maredsoli. 1894 (*Analecta Maredsolana*, II).

[2] Edited by R. L. BENSLY and R. H. KENNETT, London, 1899.

[3] Edited by C.) SCHMIDT, *T. U.*, XXXII, 1, Leipzig, 1908 and FR. ROESCH, Strasbourg, 1910.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 23, 11.

[5] *Ibid.*, iv, 22, 1.

[6] *Adv. Haer.*, iii, 3, 3.

[7] xlvii, 5, 6.

[8] *H. E.*, iii, 16.

From a theological point of view the Epistle of St. Clement is of great importance. It marks the "epiphany of the Roman primacy," being the first manifestation of the consciousness of this prerogative in Rome. It also contains the first patristic affirmation of the divine right of the hierarchy.[1] [13]

2. ST. IGNATIUS[2]

ST. IGNATIUS, also callel THEOPHORUS, according to tradition succeeded Evodius, the first bishop of Antioch after St. Peter.[3] Nothing is known for certain of his youth or even of his episcopate. It is surmised that he was born a pagan and became converted to the faith later in life.

He was bishop of Antioch[4] when a persecution, the cause of which is unknown to us, broke out. St. Ignatius was its noblest and perhaps only victim. Condemned to be exposed to wild beasts, he was led to Rome to undergo martyrdom.

He travelled by land and sea. Passing through Philadelphia, in Lydia, he arrived by land at Smyrna, where he was greeted by its bishop, Polycarp, and recived delegations from the neighboring churches of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles, with their respective bishops, Onesimus, Damasus, and Polybius. It was at Smyrna that he wrote his letters to the Ephesians, to the Magnesians, to the Trallians and to the Romans. From Smyrna he came to Troas, whence he wrote his letters to the Churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna and his letter to Polycarp. From there he took ship to Neapolis, where he resumed the land route, passing through Philippi and Thessalonica to Dyrrachium (Durazzo) on the Adriatic Sea. The Philippians received Ignatius with veneration and after his departure wrote to Polycarp, begging him to send by his own courier the letter they despatched to the Christians of Antioch and asking him at the same time to forward to them (the Philippians) whatever letters of Ignatius he had in his possession. This is the last information we have of the Bishop of Antioch. At Rome he suffered the death he had so earnestly longed for; but the two accounts of his martyrdom which we possess (*Martyrium Romanum* and *Martyrium Antiochenum*) are legendary. [14]

The letters of St. Ignatius have reached us in three different recensions:

1. The longer recension, besides the seven letters mentioned, more or less enlarged, contains six others: a letter by a certain Maria of Cassobola to Ignatius and five letters of Ignatius to Maria of Cassobola, the people of Tarsus, Antioch and Philippi, and Hero, a deacon of Antioch,—in all, thirteen letters.[5]

2. The shorter recension, in Syriac, which contains in an abbreviated form the three letters to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans.[6]

3. The mixed recension, comprising the seven letters to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Romans, the Philadelphians, the people of Smyrna, and Bishop Polycarp. The text of this recension is not so developed as that of the longer recension, but more developed than that of the shorter.

Scholars are unanimous now in affirming that neither the longer nor the shorter recension represents the authentic work of Ignatius. If, therefore, his work has been preserved anywhere, it is in the mixed recension. But the question arises: Are the seven letters of this recension entirely authentic? This question, which has been the subject of many violent discussions, must be answered in the affirmative. Arguments based upon

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[1] xlii, 1, 2, 4; xliv, 2.

[2] Special edit. by A. LELONG, in *Textes et Documents: Les Peres Apostoliques*, III, *Ignace d'Antioche*, Paris, 1910; by J. B. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers*, part II, 2nd ed., 1889-1890. See H. DE GENOUILLAC, *L'Eglise Chrétienne au Temps d'Ignace d'Antioche*, Paris, 1907. P. BATIFFOL, *L'Eglise Naissante et le Catholicisme*, Paris, 1909. Good catholic commentary by M. RACKL, *Die Christologie des hl. Ignatius von Ant.*, Freiburg, 1914.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 22.

[4] The opinion of E. BRUSTON, that Ignatius was a deacon of Antioch, does not seem to have found many adherents.

[5] The text may be found in the second vol. of FUNK'S *Patres Apostolici.*

[6] Edited by W. CURETON. *The Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of S. Ignatius*, London, 1845; *Corpus Ignatianum*, 1849; A. HILGENFELD, *Ignatii Antioch. . . . Epistulae et Martyria*, Berolini, 1902.

internal criticism are about the only ones that can be brought against such a solution, but they are really without force and must vanish before the evidence of Eusebius,[1] Origen,[2] St. Irenaeus,[3] and St. Polycarp.[4] Outside of a few obstinate writers, all Protestant and rationalist critics now side with Catholics on this question.[5] We may therefore say that the authenticity of the Ignatian epistles is an established fact. [15]

When were these letters written? Evidently at a date which coincides closely with that of the death of St. Ignatius, although it is difficult to fix this date exactly. One thing alone seems certain, *vis*., that Ignatius suffered martyrdom under Trajan (98-117). The acts of his martyrdom indicate the ninth year of Trajan (107); St. Jerome[6] says the eleventh year (109). We shall hardly err, therefore, if we place the date of his martyrdom, and consequently also that of the composition of his letters, about the year 110.

The main purpose of Ignatius in all his letters, except that to the Romans, is to warn the faithful against the errors and divisions which certain agents of heresy and schism endeavored to sow among them. The doctrine these men were trying to spread was a certain kind of Judaizing Gnosticism: on the one hand, they urged the preservation of Jewish practices; on the other they were Docetists, *i. e*., they saw in the humanity of Jesus only an unreal appearance. Furthermore, they separated from the bulk of the Christian community and conducted their liturgical conventicles apart from them. St. Ignatius fought against their pretensions by affirming that Judaism had been abrogated, and by strongly insisting on the reality of the body and the mysteries of Jesus. What he seeks above all, though, is to defeat the propaganda of these heretics in principle by exhorting the faithful, as the first of their duties, never to separate from their bishop and clergy. Under the bishop in each church Ignatius clearly distinguishes a body of priests and deacons who are subject to him, and who, together with the bishop, constitute the authority which the faithful must obey if they wish to maintain unity and purity of doctrine in the Church of God.

The Epistle to the Romans was written for a special purpose. Ignatius feared lest the Romans, moved by a false compassion for him, should attempt to prevent the execution of his death-sentence and therefore begs them to abandon their efforts.

The style of the Ignatian Epistles is "rude, obscure, enigmatic, and full of repetitions and entreaties, but it is [16] always very energetic and here and there strikingly magnificent."[7] No author, unless it be St. Paul, whom Ignatius resembles in more than one respect, has succeeded better than he in infusing his whole personality into his writings. His style, though incorrect and disjointed, is animated by an irresistible life. An ardent flame burns in these sentences, from which terse expressions spring forth like flashes of lightning. Instead of classical equilibrium, we find here beauty of a higher kind, sometimes, strange, no doubt, but always emanating from intensity of feeling and from the very depths of the martyr's piety. From this point of view nothing can compare with the letter to the Romans, which Renan has called "one of the jewels of primitive Christian literature."

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[1] *H. E*., III, 22; 36 and 38.

[2] *In Cantic. Canticorum*., prolog.; *In Lucam*, Homil. vi.

[3] *Adv. Haer*., v, 28, 4.

[4] *Ad Philipp*., xiii.

[5] Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, and Voelter still continue to hold aloof. Renan admitted the authenticity of but one Epistle, that to the Romans, the only one rejected by E. Bruston. Th. Zahn, A. Harnack, O. Pfleiderer, J. Reville and Catholics generally claim authenticity for all seven epistles. The thesis has been completely established by J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, part II, vol. I, 1885.

[6] *De Vir. ill*., 16.

[7] Batiffol.

3. St. Polycarp and the Acts of His Martyrdom[1]

The memory of St. Polycarp is closely connected with that of St. Ignatius. He was born very probably in the year 69 or 70, of well-to-do parents, and was a disciple of St. John the Evangelist.[2] He conversed with those who had seen the Lord and was made bishop of Smyrna at a relatively young age, since he was holding that office when he received St. Ignatius on his way to Rome. St. Irenaeus extols his great love of tradition and of sound doctrine.[3] Towards the end of his life, Polycarp visited Pope Anicetus in Rome to discuss with him the question of the celebration of Easter and to defend the custom which prevailed in his own church. The two were unable to come to an understanding; but parted in peace.[4] One or two years after this incident, in 155 or 156, Polycarp died a martyr.

The circumstances of his martyrdom have been preserved in a letter written by a certain Marcion in the name of the Church of Smyrna. This letter was addressed, in the year following the martyrdom of the holy bishop,[5] to the Church of Philomelium "and to all the Christians of the [17] world belonging to the universal Church."[6] Polycarp was sentenced to be burned alive, but he was stabbed with a dagger and his body afterwards burnt at the stake. The Christians were able "to gather his bones, of more value to them than precious stones and gold, and placed them in a becoming place," where they could assemble to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom.[7]

St. Irenaeus speaks of a certain number of letters written by Polycarp,[8] but we have only his letter to the Philippians, written on the occasion of Ignatius sojourn among them. Ignatius had induced the Christians of Philippi to write to the faithful of Antioch and congratulate them upon the fact that the persecution, which had carried away their bishop, was now at an end. The Philippians had requested Polycarp to send their letter to the brethren at Antioch by the same messenger he was about to despatch to that city; they also asked him for copies of the letters of Ignatius which might be in his possession. We have Polycarp's reply, written probably soon after the death of St. Ignatius,[9] but the entire text is extant only in a mediocre Latin translation. All the Greek manuscripts which have reached us stop towards the end of ch. ix. Fortunately Eusebius has transcribed the whole of ch. ix as well as ch. xiii,—the two most important chapters.[10]

The authenticity of these letters, bound up as it is with that of the Ignatian epistles, has been disputed, but they are certainly genuine.

There is very little originality in the writings of St. Polycarp. Both the matter and the style are destitute of genius. Wishing to exhort the Christians of Philippi, with whom he was but slightly acquainted, the Bishop of Smyrna filled his letter with counsels borrowed from the New Testament, and more especially from St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. He adds that he is sending them, together with this letter, all the letters of St. Ignatius in his possession. [18]

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[1] Special edition by A Lelong, same volume as that of St. Ignatius; and by J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, part II, London, 1885, 1889.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 20, 6.

[3] *De Vir. Ill.*, 7.

[4] *H. E.*, v, 24, 16, 17.

[5] xviii, 3.

[6] In this account, chapters xxi and xxii, 1 may be contemporaneous additions to the writing; parts xxii, 2, 3 and the other appendix taken from the Moscow Ms. were written at a much later date.

[7] XVIII, 2.

[8] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 20, 8.

[9] Cf. ix with xiii.

[10] *H. E.*, iii, 36, 13-15.

4. PSEUDO-BARNABAS[1]

Under the name of ST. BARNABAS we have a letter preserved in two principal codices, the *Sinaiticus* (IVth century) and the *Hierosolymitanus* (1056). With one voice Christian antiquity indicated as the author of this letter Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, although it placed it among the ἀντιλεγομέναι γραφαί, that is to say, contested its canonicity. Modern critics unanimously deny the genuineness of the letter. When the Epistle was written, St. Barnabas was certainly no longer alive and, even if he had been, he would not have adopted the violent and severe attitude evinced throughout this document.

The letter was intended for certain converts from paganism, whom a few Judaic Christians—more Jewish than Christian—were trying to persuade that the Old Law was still in force. To refute this claim the author devotes the greater part of his letter (i-xvii) to showing that the Mosaic observances have been abrogated and that the ancient covenant of God with the Jewish people ceased with the death of Christ and the promulgation of the Christian law. He goes farther and asserts that these traditional observances in reality never existed in the sense in which the Jews understood them. The precepts relating to fasting, circumcision, the Sabbath, the temple, etc., which they had interpreted in a gross material sense, were to be understood spiritually of the mortification of the passions and the sanctification of the interior temple, which is the soul.

In the second part, passing abruptly to a new set of ideas, the author reproduces the contents of the chapters of the *Didaché* which describe the "*Two Ways*." It is probable that he borrowed this description from some other writing, or from the *Didaché* itself. There are two "Ways of Life": the way of darkness and vice and the way of light and virtue; we must follow the latter and turn away from the former.

Alexandria and Egypt are commonly designated as the birthplace of the *Letter of Barnabas*. It is there we find it first quoted (by Clement of Alexandria) and there it was [19] held in great veneration. We could suspect this also from the strong allegorism displayed throughout the work. The author sees, for instance, in the 318 slaves of Abraham the figure of Christ and of His cross (T=300, ίη=18). He believes in the millennium.

It is difficult to determine the date of this composition. All depends on the interpretation we give to chapters iv and xvi. Funk and Bardenhewer place it under Nerva's reign (96-98); Veil, Harnack, and Oger, under the Emperior Hadrian (117-131).

5. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES[2]

The *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* (Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκαἀποστόλων), frequently called also by the shorter name of *Didaché*, was not entirely unknown when the complete text was first discovered. The Epistle of Pseudo-Barnabas, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, the author of the Apostolic Constitutions, and others had quoted it or embodied fragments of it in their works. St. Athanasius had even mentioned it expressly by its title, the "*Doctrine of the Apostles*." The treatise was very popular in the early Church; some looked upon it even as an inspired book.[3] But the complete original text was discovered only in 1873, by Philotheos Bryennios in the *Codex Hierosolymitanus*, which dates from 1056. The *editio princeps* appeared in 1883. It has since been followed by many others. Besides the original Greek, there exist also a Latin version of the first six chapters[4] and a few fragments from an Arabic translation.[5] Quotations in the *Adversus Aleatores*

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[1] Special edition by G. OGER and A. LAURENT, *Textes et Documents, Les Pères Apostoliques*, I, Paris, 1907. See P. LADEUZE, *L'Epître de Barnabé*, Louvain, 1900. Catholic commentary by PH. HÄUSER, *Der Barnabasbrief neu untersucht und/neu erklärt*, Paderborn, 1912.

[2] Special edition by H. HEMMER and A. LAURENT in *Textes et Documents, Les Pères Apostoliques*, 1, Paris, 1907. See E. JACQUIER, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres* (text, version, and commentaries), Paris, 1891.

[3] Eusebius places it among the νόθα or non-canonical apocrypha (*H. E.*, III, 25, 4).

[4] Edited by J. SCHLECHT, *Doctrina xii Apostolorum*, Freiburg i. B., 1900.

[5] In the life of the monk) Schnoudi. d. in 451. J. ISELIN, *Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Teiles der Apostellehre; T. U.*, xiii, ib, 1895.

and by St. Optatus prove that there must have existed, as early as the IInd century, a Latin version, different from the one we possess now, which contained the whole work. [20]

The *Didaché* may be divided into four clearly distinct parts: a moral catechesis (i-vi), a liturgical instruction (vii-x); a disciplinary instruction (xi-xv), and a conclusion of an eschatological nature (xvi).

1. The moral catechesis teaches us what we must do (The Way of Life, i-iv) and what we must not do (The Way of Death, v, vi).

2. The liturgical instruction treats of Baptism, how to administer it and how to prepare oneself for its reception (vii); fasting (viii, 1); prayer (viii, 2, 3), and the celebration of the Holy Eucharist (ix, x).

3. The disciplinary instruction is concerned with the manner of dealing with preachers, and especially with itinerant apostles (xi, 3-6), prophets (xi, 7-12; xiii, 1, 3-7), travelling brethren (xii), and teachers who settle in the community (xiii, 2); then passing on to the interior life of the Church, it prescribes the divine service for Sundays and lays down the line of conduct to be followed with regard to bishops, deacons, and the brethren of the community (xiv-xv).

4. The conclusion is a warning to be vigilant because the coming of the Savior is at hand. It contains also a description of the signs which will precede and accompany the *parousia* (xvi).

The *Didaché* is an anonymous writing and its author is unknown. Whoever he was, he fused the different parts of the work into a harmonious whole. The problem is to ascertain whether he made use of works already in existence and, more especially, whether the first six chapters (the moral catechesis) constituted an independent treatise, which the author appropriated and incorporated with his work. A few indications here and there seem to favor this view. Under the title of *The Two Ways* a short moral treatise seems to have been in circulation. The author of the *Didaché* and several other writers who have cited him may have merely performed a work of transcription. This conclusion, however, is not certain. As to the hypothesis that *The Two Ways* was a Jewish work, Christianized by the addition of passages 1, 3 to 11, 1, we must say that it is not substantiated by the facts.

The dates fixed upon by critics for the composition of the *Didaché* fall between the years 50 and 160. The work was probably composed between 80 and 110. The basis for [21] such a conclusion is the fact that the liturgy and hierarchy which the author describes, are quite primitive; there is no trace in the work of a creed or a canon of the Scriptures, and no allusion is made to pagan persecution or Gnosticism. On the other hand, the writer is acquainted with the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke and entertains an obvious mistrust towards wandering Christian teachers who visit the communities. This state of affairs is characteristic of the end of the first century.

It is impossible to determine precisely the place where this work was composed. It was certainly written in the East, but nothing warrants our saying with certainty whether its birthplace was Syria, Palestine, or Egypt.

The *Didaché* is a work of considerable importance. Apart from its dogmatic content, it gives us a pretty accurate picture of what was, in those early times, the interior life of the Christian communities from the point of view of moral teaching, the practices they observed, and the form of government under which they lived. Some authors have seen in this work the most ancient of Christian rituals; it is perhaps more exact to characterize it as a kind of "*Vade Mecum*" for the faithful and a directory for the use of the Church officials.

6. The Homily Called Second Epistle of St. Clement[1]

The so-called *Second Epistle of St. Clement* is found in two Greek manuscripts and in the Syriac manuscript of the authentic letter of St. Clement. However, Eusebius, who is the first to mention it, is careful

[1] Special edition by H. Hemmer in the *Textes et Documents, Les Pères Apostoliques*, II, Paris, 1909. The introduction discusses certain questions raised by the letter.

to remark[1] that "it was not as well known as the first Epistle, since ancient writers have made no use of it." In fact, it is neither a letter nor a formal epistle, but a homily or discourse which was read in the meetings of the faithful. "Brothers and Sisters, after [the word of] the God of truth, I read to you this exhortation, that listening to the things which have been written, you may save yourselves and your lector with you."[2] The hypothesis that this epistle is identical with [22] the Letter of Pope Soter to the Corinthians,[3] spoken of by Denis of Corinth, is therefore untenable. Neither can this homily be attributed to Pope St. Clement. The silence of ancient writers militates strongly against such an hypothesis, and "style, tone, and thought are in such complete contrast with the (authentic) Letter to the Corinthians that from internal criteria alone we should be justified in refusing to attribute this second composition to the author of the first Letter."[4]

It is, therefore, an anonymous sermon by an unknown author. As the work is not an orderly treatise on a particular subject, its contents are difficult to analyze. After affirming the divinity of Christ, the author dwells at length on the value of the salvation He has brought us and on the care with which we should observe the commandments (i-iv). We can work out our salvation only by waging a continual warfare against the world. Let us then embark for this heavenly battle (v-vii) and strive to practice the Christian virtues of penance, purity, mutual love, trust in God, and devotion to the Church (viii-xvii). Conclusion: Let us work for our salvation, come what may: Glory be to God! (xviii-xx).

It is plain that this discourse is not a homily, properly so called, upon a specific text of S. Scripture, but a stirring exhortation to live a Christian life and thereby to merit heaven. "The thought is often very commonplace, expressed awkwardly and not always definitely. The composition is loose and devoid of orderly plan, but there are a few striking sentences scattered here and there." It is the work of a writer who is inexperienced, yet full of what he has to say and who, at times, expressed himself with unction.

A number of critics, struck by the resemblance existing between this work and the *Shepherd* of Hermas, have concluded that it was written in Rome. The analogy, however, is not very pronounced. Others have perceived in vii, 1, 3, where mention is made of wrestlers who hasten to the combat under full sail and of Christians embarking for battle, an allusion to the Isthmian games, and think that the exhortation was read at Corinth. This would explain how, in the manuscripts, it came to be placed alongside of the Letter of St. Clement to the Corinthians. The hypothesis does not lack probability. [23]

As to the date of composition, critics agree in placing it in the first half of the second century, more precisely between 120 and 140, before the rise of the great Gnostic systems of which the writer does not seem to be aware.

7. The Shepherd of Hermas[5]

We possess under the name of HERMAS a longish composition entitled *The Shepherd*, of which there are extant two Greek manuscripts, both incomplete,[6] two Latin versions (one very ancient, called *Vulgata*), an Ethiopic version, and a few fragments of a Coptic version. The title of the work is borrowed from the personage who plays the principal part in the second division of the work, the Angel of Penance to whose care Hermas has been entrusted, and who appears to him in the guise of a shepherd (Vision v).

Who was the author of this book? Origen saw in him the Hermas whom St. Paul greets at the end of his Epistle to the Romans (xvi, 14). Others have made him a contemporary of St. Clement of Rome, according

[1] *H. E.*, iii, 38, 4.

[2] xix, 1.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 23, 11.

[4] Hemmer.

[5] Special edition by A. LELONG in the *Textes et Documents, Les Pères Apostoliques*, IV, *Le Pasteur d'Hermas*, Paris, 1912. Cf. A BRUELL, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, Freiburg, 1882. P. BATIFFOL, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive*, Paris, 1904. A. BAUMEISTER, *Die Ethik des Pastor Hermae*, Freiburg, 1912. A. D'ALÈS, *L'Édit de Calliste*, Paris, 1914.

[6] The codex of Mt. Athos (xivth century) contains almost the entire text down to similitude ix, 30, 2.

to vision ii, 4, 3. By far the most probable opinion is that based upon the authority of the Canon of Muratori, and that of the Liberian Catalogue, which makes Hermas a brother of Pope Pius I (c. 140-155). "As to the *Shepherd*," says the Muratorian Fragment, "it has been written quite recently, in our own time, in the city of Rome, by Hermas, while Pius, his brother, occupied, as bishop, the see of the Church of the city of Rome."

This evidence seems conclusive. It does not, however, give us any details concerning the life of Hermas. The author, in his book, furnishes us with these. According to his autobiography, Hermas was a slave and a Christian. He was sold at Rome to a Christian lady, named Rhode, who soon set him free. He then applied himself to agriculture and commerce and rapidly acquired great wealth. In consequence, he began to neglect the moral [24] guidance of his family and, more especially, failed to correct his wife and children, who led vicious lives. Then came the persecution. Hermas and his wife confessed the faith, but their children apostatized, denounced their parents, and indulged in all kinds of debauchery. The result was that Hermas lost his fortune and was reduced to the possession of a small farm, situated on the road leading to the Roman Campagna; this was enough to support him. The trial he had undergone proved very salutary. Hermas had been an indifferent Christian; he now became fervent. It was while he was endeavoring to make amends for the past that the events occurred which he now relates.

It is difficult to disentangle what is true from what is pure fiction in these details. Hermas is surely a historical personage, and probably certain features of his life are not without historical foundation. Others may have been invented for the purposes of the book. Since Hermas has invented many things, as we shall prove, he may well have invented also his supposed autobiography.

The end he had in view was to call sinners to penance. Hermas is conscious of grave disorders which have crept into the Roman Church (Simil., viii, 6-10; ix, 19-31), not only among the laity, but even among the clergy. Ought not these sinners to do penance? Certain imposters denied it (Simil., viii, 6, 5). Hermas affirms that they should. Will this penance, which is necessary, be useful to those who perform it, and will it merit pardon for them? Some rigorist teachers thought it would not, and asserted that the only salutary penance was that performed before baptism (Mandat., iv, 3, 1); Hermas announces in the name of God that, at least at the moment when he is writing, one penance after baptism is both possible and efficacious, and affirms that his express mission is to invite sinners to take advantage of such a favor. Lastly, how should penance be performed? Hermas describes the process in the course of his book. These three ideas,—the necessity of penance, its efficacy, and its requisite conditions,— form the ground-work of *The Shepherd*.

Hermas does not present these ideas as his own. In order that they may be the more readily accepted by his readers, he presents them as moral instructions which he has received through the special agency of supernatural manifestations. He assumes the attitude of a seer and a prophet, [25] like those who existed in the first days of the Church, and his entire book is nothing more than an account of the visions and revelations which have been made to him.

From this point of view, *viz*., that of the *form*, *The Shepherd* is divided into three parts, which comprise, respectively, five *Visions*, twelve *Commandments*, and ten *Similitudes* (or parables). This distinction is made by the author himself, but it must not be taken in a strict sense, "because the *commandments* and the *similitudes* contain nearly as many visions as the *visions* properly so called, and the *visions* and *similitudes* in their turn are crammed with commandments."[1] In reality, Hermas divides his book into two distinct sections, according to the personage who appears and speaks to him. In the first four visions that personage is the Church. She appears to him first in the guise of an aged and feeble woman; in the following visions she grows constantly younger and more graceful. From the fifth vision on, a new personage appears and remains upon the scene until the close of the volume. This is the Shepherd or Angel of Penance to whose care Hermas has been entrusted. The Shepherd first dictates to him the twelve *Commandments* and next bids him write out the *Similitudes* or parables.

[1] Lelong.

The twelve *Commandments* form a small code of practical morals. They insist upon the virtues and good works which a penitent must practice if his penance is to be efficacious,—faith, fear of God, simplicity, truthfulness, chastity in marriage, patience, temperance, trust in God, Christian joy, the discernment of true and false prophets.

The *Similitudes*, or symbolical visions, are ten in number. They resume the theme of the visions and further develop the necessity and efficacy of penance and the conditions requisite for it. Three of these similitudes are particularly important: the fifth (the parable of the vineyard and the faithful servant), the eighth (the parable of the willow tree), and the ninth (which returns to the third vision and relates the construction of the tower of the Church).

Link and Baumgärtner[1] have established beyond a doubt that the *Shepherd* is the work of one author. But it does not necessarily follow that Hermas wrote successively and [26] at one sitting all the parts of his work. On the contrary, there were certainly interruptions of time between the composition of the first four visions and that of the fifth, between the composition of Similitude ix and that of Similitude x. But it is difficult to determine the duration of these intervals: nothing proves that they lasted, at the most, more than four or five years.

The Shepherd was evidently written at Rome. The Muratorian Fragment affirms that it was composed during the pontificate of Pius I, between 140 and 155, or thereabouts. The best we can do is to accept this date, which is supported by what Hennas says about the persecutions, the state of the Roman Church, and the errors which were beginning to circulate in his time.

From the moment of its appearance *The Shepherd* was received with high esteem in both the East and the West. Several Fathers (St. Irenaeus, Tertullian—whilst still a Catholic, — Clement of Alexandria, and Origen) considered it an inspired work, athough they did not place it on the same footing as the canonical books. *The Shepherd* was esteemed as the work of a true prophet and was appended to the New Testament in manuscripts of the Bible. The Muratorian Fragment, Eusebius, and St. Athanasius are more exact when they state that *The Shepherd* of Hermas is assuredly an excellent book, but cannot be compared to the books recognized by the Church as canonical. Its reputation did not last beyond the IVth century, and in 392, St. Jerome could say that *The Shepherd* was almost unknown among the Latin churches. The interest it had created dwindled away in the Greek churches also. In the decree of Pope Gelasius (496) it is named among the apocryphal books.

Considered in itself, the book is very interesting and, in spots, affords agreeable reading. However, this is not owing to the literary gifts and genius of the writer. Hermas was an uneducated man and seems not to have read or known anything outside of the Bible and a few Jewish or Christian apocrypha. He was entirely unacquainted with philosophy. He lacks imagination. "His grammar is faulty, his style clumsy and diffuse, and filled with long sentences and wearisome repetitions … his logic is extremely defective; he does not even know the art of writing correctly."[2] [27] Speculations on Christian dogma are clearly beyond the comprehension of such a poor writer and indifferent theologian. But, although not a learned man, he is a shrewd observer and has a sane and just mind, a tender heart, and good practical judgment— qualities which unite in making him an excellent moralist. He is very considerate and moderate: he exacts of human frailty only what is possible and, in consequence of the deep sense he has of divine mercy, shows himself very lenient and optimistic. His book must certainly have done a great deal of good.

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[1] A. LINK, *Die Einheit des Pastor Hermae*, Marburg, 1888; P. BAUMGÄRTNER, *Die Einheit des Hermas-Buches*, Freiburg i B., 1889.

[2] Lelong.

8. Papias and the Presbyters

PAPIAS[1] is known to us through St. Irenaeus and Eusebius. He was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a friend of St. Polycarp, and, having conversed with the immediate disciples of the Apostles, belonged, at the latest, to the third generation of Christians.[2] Critics are still debating whether the John, whose disciple he was, was St. John the Apostle, or a presbyter of that name. Eusebius speaks of Papias as a feeble man of limited mental power.

Papias composed only one work, the "*Explanation of the Sayings of the Lord*" (Λογίωγ κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις), in five books. This treatise not only explains the words of Christ but also deals with His life. The author does not take the sayings of Christ from the Gospel text alone but relates parables from oral tradition, which Eusebius thought queer, reports a number of special utterances of the Redeemer, and a few stories which are pure fables.[3] Among the latter are to be classed certain realistic descriptions of the millennium, in which Papias was a fervent believer.

According as they see in John the presbyter, with whom Papias conversed, the Apostle John, or another personage of the same name, critics assign the composition of the *Explanation* to an earlier or a later date. Zahn places this [28] composition in A. D. 125-130; Bardenhewer, 117-138; Harnack, 140-160; Batiffol, c. 150.

Of the work of Papias we possess only a few short fragments given by St. Irenaeus, Eusebius, and Apollinaris. The two most important relate to the gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew.

Ancient writers (Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Papias himself, and especially St. Irenaeus) often mention the presbyters or one presbyter in particular as having said certain things or taught certain doctrines. Papias gives this name to the Apostles,[4] but it applies more generally to the disciples of the Apostles, or to the disciples of these disciples, the word presbyter (ancient) being used relatively to the speaker. Thus Papias is a presbyter for St. Irenaeus and Aristion a presbyter for Papias. The presbyters are men who lived between A. D. 70-150 and who may have conversed either with the Apostles or with their immediate disciples. A few among them seem to have been writers, Aristion for example. Their accounts and teachings are, however, quoted as oral traditions and in the form of brief sentences. There is no complete collection of the words of the presbyters. Funk has gathered together those found in St. Irenaeus.[5]

9. The Apostles' Creed[6]

The oldest Greek text we possess of the *Apostles' Creed* is found in Marcellus of Ancyra's letter to Pope Julius I, c. 340. The Latin text in its oldest form is given by Rufinus (c. 400) in his *Commentary on the Symbol of the Apostles*[7] and in an *Explanation of the Symbol* attributed to St. Ambrose.[8] This text differs from the one we now have by [29] the omission of the words *creatorem caeli et terrae … conceptus est … passus … mortuus … descendit ad inferos … omnipotentis … Credo … catholicam, sanctorum*

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[1] Edition by FUNK, *Patres Apostolici*, I, 346 ff. Doubtful frag ments in C. DE BOOR, *Texte und Unters*., v, 2, 1888. *Cf.* TH. ZAHN, *Geschichte des neutestam. Kanons*, 1, 2, 1889; *Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, VI, Leipzig, 1900. J. CHAPMAN, *Le Témoignage de Jean le Presbytre*, in the Revue Bénédictine, XXII (1905), pp. 357-376.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 39, 2-4.

[3] *Ibid*., 11.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 39, 4.

[5] *Patres apostol*., I, 378-389.

[6] Texts in DENZINGER-BANNWART, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, Freiburg i. B., 1908, and more completely in HAHN, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3rd edit., Breslau, 1897. The fundamental works on the question are those of C. P. CASPARI, *Ungedruckte. . . . Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, Christiania, 1866-1875; *Alte und Neue Quellen sur Gesch. des Taufsymbols*, Christiania, 1879; and of F. KATTENBUSCH, *Das apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1894-1900; A. E. BURN, *Apostles' Creed*. London, 1906; E. VACANDARD, *Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse*, Paris, 1905.

[7] Hahn, §19.

[8] Hahn, §34.

communionem … vitam aeternam. These words are nothing more than additions made by the different churches[1] and finally adopted by the Roman Church after it had ignored them for a long time.

This symbol is the one which the Roman Church required the catechumens to learn and recite before receiving Baptism. In course of time it was adopted by all the churches of the West. It is not so sure that the Eastern churches adopted it before the Council of Nicaea or that the formulas of faith we find in these churches during the first three centuries are derived from it.

To what period may we trace the origin of this symbol and is it the work of the Apostles themselves? There is no doubt that the symbol embodies the doctrine of the Apostles and therefore may be attributed to them at least in substance. All its elements are found in the New Testament.

Rufinus goes a step further. He narrates, as a tradition current in his time, that the Apostles, before separating, composed this symbol that it might be the common theme of their preaching and the rule of faith for their followers. In this hypothesis the symbol would literally be the work of the Apostles.[2] It is strange, however, if this tradition has a real foundation, that so venerable a formula was not preserved and amplifications were allowed to creep into it in the West. More probably the Apostles Creed was composed in Rome towards the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. This conclusion is based upon the fact that we find traces of it and very probably quotations from it in Tertullian, St. Irenaeus, and St. Justin. The necessity of a formula of this kind for the liturgy of Baptism must have been felt at an early date and met promptly. The text, as we now have it, its lapidary style [30] and its complete absence of allusions to heresies of the second century, is well suited to the Roman genius and characteristic of the period immediately following the death of the Apostles. Rome alone possessed sufficient influence to impose a symbol upon the churches of both the East and the West. The Apostles Creed cannot, therefore, have been composed by the Church in the middle of the second century as a weapon against Gnosticism, as Ehrhard and Harnack surmise, but must be anterior to these controversies.

[1] The formula of the symbol of Niceta of Remesiana (beginning of Vth century) contains all these additions, except *conceptus . . . descendit ad inferos . . . omnipotentis . . . Credo* (Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, Introduction, p. lxxiv).

[2] The theory that each of the Twelve Apostles formulated one of the twelve articles of the symbol can be traced back to the VIth century and is found in sermons falsely attributed to St. Augustine (*P. L.*, xxxix, Serm. ccxl and ccxli).

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SECTION II

THE APOLOGISTS OF THE SECOND CENTURY[1]

GENERAL SURVEY

The name Apologists is given to a group of writers — more especially of the second century — who aimed to defend the Christians from the accusations brought against them, to obtain for them tolerance under the civil laws, and to demonstrate to their persecutors that the Christian religion is the only true one.

Christianity had scarcely begun to spread in the Roman world, when it found itself beset with vexations and persecutions of all kinds. The principal accusation made against Christians was that of atheism (ἀθεότης). Contrary to the civil law, the Christians refused to adore the gods of the empire and practiced a religion not approved by the Roman Senate. In the eyes of the State, therefore, they were atheists, guilty of practicing a forbidden religion (*religio illicita*), and therefore enemies of the State and its fundamental institutions. To this charge were added base calumnies, which were soon circulated among the people and accepted even by a few eminent writers. One report was that, in their meetings, the Christians feasted upon the flesh of infants, previously slaughtered and then sprinkled with flour (*Epulae Thyesteae*); and were not ashamed of practicing such immoralities as the intercourse of Oedipus with his own mother. Intellectualists and politicians [32] accused them of indolence, *i. e.*, of shunning the world and business and taking no interest in the prosperity of the State, neglecting the affairs of this life for those of a future life. They were regarded as bad citizens and generally as a useless set of scoundrels.

The main effort of the Apologists was to refute these accusations and to show that Christianity had the right to exist. To attain this end, their work could not remain purely negative, but had to include a positive demonstration of the excellence and truth of the Christian religion. Such a demonstration necessarily involved them in an attack upon paganism, for a successful vindication of the superiority of Christianity demanded that a contrast be drawn between it and the State religion. The work of the Apologists, therefore, was not purely defensive; it was also controversial and expository.

The apologies were directed partly against the pagans and partly against the Jews. The former may be divided into three groups. Those of the *first group* take the form of requests or *petitions* addressed to the Emperor and to the Senate. The emperors of the Antonine dynasty were looked upon as just and moderate philosophers from whom philosophers like Justin and Athenagoras could hope to obtain a hearing. It is doubtful, however, whether or not these apologies addressed to the emperors were really brought to their notice. They were aimed at the public, though written in the form of open letters to the emperors. The apologies of the *second class* are addressed *directly to the people*. Such are, for example, the numerous *Discourses to the Greeks* of the second and third centuries. Lastly — and these form the *third class*, — a few apologies were addressed, at least primarily, to private individuals, *e. g.*, the three books of Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus and the *Epistle to Diognetus*.

Among the apologies against the Jews may be cited St. Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. In these apologies the expository and demonstrative character predominates. The Jews harbored many prejudices which had to be removed, and a spirit of hatred which had to be overcome; indeed, they were not the last to spread popular calumnies against the Christians and denounce them to the authorities. But in the writings addressed to them the Apologists are less intent on refuting their accusations than on convincing them [33] of the

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[1] There exist two complete editions of the Greek apologists (except Aristides), that of D. MARAN, reproduced in the *Patrologia Graeca*, VI; and that of J. C. TH. OTTO, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi*, Jena, 1847-1872. The five volumes devoted to St. Justin were published in a third edition in 1876-1881. The individual edition of each of the apologists will be pointed out under their name. See J. MARTIN, *L'Apologétique Traditionnelle*, Paris, 1905. L. LAGUIER, *La Méthode Apologétique des Pères dans les trois Premiers Siècles*, Paris, 1905; J. RIVIERE, *S. Justin et les Apologistes du II° Siècle*, Paris, 1907. A. PUECH, *Les Apologistes Grecs du IIe Siècle de Notre Ere*, Paris, 1912.

divine mission of Jesus Christ and the truth of His religion. Consequently, their purpose was to demonstrate the Messiahship of Our Lord and for this demonstration they use mostly the argument from the prophecies, their thorough knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures proving very useful for this purpose.

From a literary point of view, the writings of the Apologists are generally superior to those of the Apostolic Fathers. Several of their authors had been trained in the schools and had studied philosophy: they gloried in the fact that they still remained philosophers, even though they had embraced Christianity. This may easily be seen from the vigor of their thought and reasoning. It is betrayed also by certain peculiarities of style, which often remind us of the sophists (professional grammarians and rhetoricians). Moreover, a number of these writings, at least, are fairly extensive and touch on the most important questions of moral and dogmatic theology. They are the first attempts at scientific theology made in the Church.

1. LOST APOLOGIES — ARISTIDES OF ATHENS

We know of about twelve Apologists in the second century, but out of this number there are about five whose works have been entirely lost or from which we have only a few passages.

Among them is QUADRATUS (Κοδρᾶτος),[1] whom certain critics have identified with the prophet of the same name spoken of by Eusebius.[2] He presented to the Emperor Hadrian (117-138) an apology which Eusebius had read and from which he quotes one sentence.[3]

To ARISTO of Pella[4] we owe the first treatise against the Jews, written about 140, a *Disputation between Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ*. In this work, Jason, a Christian, with the help of the prophecies, proves against Papiscus, a Jew from Alexandria, that Jesus is the Son of God. This little work, defended by Origen against Celsus, was made use of (we know not to what extent) by later [34] controversialists, notably in the *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*, brought to light by Evagrius.

MILTIADES,[5] very probably from Asia Minor, wrote between 160 and 193. He composed three apologies, so Eusebius tells us,— one *Against the Greeks*, a second *Against the Jews*, and a third "To the Princes of this World, an apology of the philosophy he followed."[6] Nothing remains of these writings.

The same may be said of APOLLINARIS,[7] bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who flourished in the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). We know through Eusebius that he was the author of an apology addressed to this emperor (probably in 172), five books *Against the Greeks*, two books *On Truth*, which appear also to be an apology, and two books *Against the Jews*.[8]

We may note, finally, the apology of MELITO,[9] Bishop of Sardis, likewise addressed to Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius quotes three passages from it.[10] Melito is the author of another work, entitled *On Truth*,[11] also a defence of Christianity.

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[1] See OTTO, *op. cit.*, ix, 333 ff.

[2] *H. E.*, iii, 37, 1; v, 17, 2.

[3] *H. E.*, iv, 3.

[4] See OTTO, *op. cit.*, IX, 349 ff.

[5] See OTTO, *op. cit.*, ix, 364 ff.

[6] *H. E.*, v, 17, 5.

[7] See OTTO, *op. cit.*, ix, 479 ff.

[8] *H. E.*, iv, 26, 1; 27.

[9] See OTTO, *op. cit.*, ix, 374-478 and 497-512.

[10] *H. E.*, iv, 26, 5-11.

[11] *Ibid.*, 2.

The *Oratio Melitonis philosophi quae habita est coram Antonio Caesare* has nothing to do with the Bishop of Sardis. Syriac seems to be the language in which this work was originally written. A recent opinion ascribes it to the Gnostic Bardesanes.

The earliest Apologist whose work we possess in its entirety, is ARISTIDES,[1] a philosopher of Athens, whom Eusebius names immediately after Quadratus.[2] For a long time his apology was given up as lost, but it was found both in a Syriac version and in a revised Greek text of the legend of SS. Barlaam and Joasaph. We possess also a fragment in Armenian, but the Syriac text is the best of the three.

The contents of this apology are simple enough: the whole [35] question of the differences between pagans and Christians is reducible to the knowledge of the true God. God exists, for the existence and order of the world prove it. He must be eternal, impassible, and perfect. Now if we examine the beliefs of the four classes of men that make up humanity,— the barbarians, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Christians,— we find that the last mentioned alone have the right conception of God and of the worship due Him. The barbarians have worshipped as gods the elements and famous men (iii-vii). The Greeks have created gods who were slaves to passion. The Jews have certainly known the true God, but they have worshipped Him in a childlike way and have worshipped the Angels more than Him (xiv). The Christians alone know Him and serve Him with a pure conscience by leading a life worthy of Him (xv-xvi). Consequently, cease to persecute the Christians and be converted to their religion.

This treatise, evidently the work of an energetic man who was convinced of what he said, was addressed about 140 to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161).

2. ST. JUSTIN MARTYR[3]

One of the earliest and most eminent of the Apologists of the second century is ST. JUSTIN. Born between 100 and no of heathen parents at Flavia Neapolis the modern Nablus and the ancient Sichera he felt at an early age a strong attraction for philosophy. He has himself given us a sketch of his intellectual and moral development (*Dial*. i-viii); artificial details may be discerned here and there, but the substance is certainly true. He received lessons successively from a Stoic, a Peripatetic, and a Pythagorean, but none satisfied him. Platonism seemed to afford him some peace of mind; but a venerable old man, whose acquaintance he had made (probably at Ephesus), pointed out to him the insufficiency of philosophy and urged him to study the Scriptures and the teachings of Christ. [36] Justin followed this advice and was converted about A. D., 130.

As a Christian, he continued to wear the philosopher's mantle, leading the life of a lay missionary, preaching the doctrine of Christ and defending it as the highest and safest philosophy. Twice he came to Rome, where he spent a considerable time and founded a school which was quite successful. In the same city, most probably, he held, with Crescens, the cynic, the disputations which he mentions in his *Second Apology*. It is supposed that Crescens denounced him and had him condemned, but there is nothing to prove this. Justin was beheaded in Rome with six other Christians, under Junius Rusticus, prefect of the city, between 163 and 167. We have the authentic acts of his martyrdom.[4]

St. Justin was always admired for the earnestness of his convictions, the nobility of his character, and the perfect loyalty of his dealings. He was an apostle and a saint in the true sense of the words, filled with an

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[1] Editions by J. RENDEL HARRIS et J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, *The Apology of Aristides*, in *Texts and Studies*, 1, Cambridge, 2nd revised edition, 1893; R. SEEBERG, *Der Apologet Aristides*, Erlangen, 1894; see M. PICARD, *L'Apologie d'Aristide*, Paris, 1892.

[2] *H. E.*, iv, 3, 3.

[3] Special edition of the two Apologies by L. PAUTIGNY, Paris, 1904, and of the *Dialogue with Tryphon* by G. ARCHAMBAULT, Paris, 1909, in the *Textes et documents*. A. BERY, *Saint Justin, sa vie et sa doctrine*, Paris, 1901; M. J. LAGRANGE, *Saint Justin* (coll. *Les Saints*), Paris, 1914; L. FEDER, *Justins des Martyrers Lehre von Jesus Christus*, Freiburg i. B., 1906.

[4] OTTO, *Corpus Apologetarum*, III, p. 336 ff.

ardent desire to do good to those whom he addressed. His reputation as a writer is not so high. Critics generally agree that his composition is defective. Instead of keeping to the point, he makes useless digressions and does not always conclude the arguments he has begun. His manner is monotonous, heavy, and often incorrect. The earnestness of the writer and the warmth of the discussion alone at times impart to his style *éclat* and life. From a theological point of view, however, the writings of St. Justin are exceptionally valuable. Not only is he an undeniable witness of the important dogmas of the Incarnation and the Holy Eucharist, but he is the first who carefully studied the relations between faith and reason and who introduced the Greek categories and a philosophical terminology into his doctrinal expositions. In this he is a true pioneer.

We are acquainted with the titles of nine or ten of St. Justin's authentic works: Eusebius[1] mentions the two *Apologies*, a *Discourse against the Greeks, A Refutation against the Greeks*, a writing known as *De Monarchia Divina*, another entitled *The Psalter*, a treatise *On the Soul*, written in the form of scholia, and the *Dialogue with Trypho*.

St. Justin, on his part, speaks of a Syntagma against all the [37] Heresies (σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων),[2] which perhaps comprised the treatise *Against Marcion*, cited by St. Irenaeus.[3]

Apart from a few citations or fragments, only three of these works have reached us in a single manuscript, the *Codex Parisinus* 450, of the year 1364. They are the two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue with Trypho*.

The *First Apology* is addressed to Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, to the Senate and the whole Roman people. Antoninus Pius reigned from 138 to 161, but a number of indications in the text of the address lead us to conclude that it was written between 150 and 155. To all appearances it was written in Rome.

The plan which the author followed in his composition is not easy to trace, but critics generally admit a twofold category of considerations and proofs.

The "proposition" occupies ch. i-iii. The Christians must not be condemned if they are innocent of the crimes laid to their charge. That they are innocent Justin proves in two ways.

1. *By a direct refutation* (iv-xiii). The Christians are not atheists, although they do not adore idols; neither are they immoral, or homicides, or enemies of the Empire. They are virtuous and peaceful citizens.

2. This refutation alone would suffice; but it does not satisfy Justin. Convinced that Christianity is persecuted only because it is misapprehended, he devotes most of the remaining chapters of his *First Apology* to explaining to the pagans the Christian religion in its moral teaching (xvi-xvii), in a few of its dogmas (xviii-xx), in its founder and its history (xxi-xxiii; xxx-lv), in its worship and the initiation of its adepts (lxi-lxvii). xxiv-xxix and lvi-lx form two parentheses, in which the author returns to a subject he had previously treated, or speaks of the counterfeits of Christianity set up by the demons. The conclusion is contained in lxviii: St. Justin again demands that Christians be not condemned without examination and without trial.[4] [38]

The *Second Apology* is addressed to the Senate. It is much shorter than the first and must have been written very soon after the latter (c. 155, at the latest), although it is in nowise a mere continuation of it. It was written in Rome on the following occasion. A Christian woman had separated from her pagan husband, a debauché, who, to avenge himself, denounced her catechist, Ptolemaeus, who was put to death with two

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[1] *H. E.*, iv, 18.

[2] *1 Apol.*, xxvi, 8.

[3] *Adv. Haer.*, iv, 6, 2.

[4] The present text of the Apology gives after the conclusion a copy of the rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus. This rescript seems to be authentic; but it may well be that it was not placed there by St. Justin himself, at least in the first draft of the Apology. See C. CALLEWAERT, *Le Rescrit d'Hadrien à Minucius Fundanus*, in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses*, VIII (1903), p. 152-189.

other Christians by order of Urbicus, prefect of Rome (144-160). Justin immediately protested. The main idea of this new treatise is the same as that of the *First Apology*. The Christians are not known; their doctrine is purer, nobler, and more complete than those of the philosophers; their conduct is free from reproach. The demons are responsible for the fact that they are persecuted. All these ideas are jumbled together. But in reading the Apology, we feel that the author is aroused and foresees his own martyrdom; he awaits it, but this does not prevent him from proclaiming loudly that he is a Christian.

The third work of St. Justin which we possess is the *Dialogue with Trypho*. In this book it is no longer a question of defending the Christians against their pagan persecutors; but to convince the Jews of the Messiahship of Jesus Christ and the truth of His religion. Trypho is a learned rabbi, with whom Justin is supposed to have had a lengthy dispute at Ephesus, about 132-135, of which dispute the *Dialogue* professes to be an exact reproduction. It cannot be said for certain whether the debate really took pace or whether St. Justin merely describes an imaginary bout, to set forth his ideas. It is evident, however, that the arguments and retorts were not exactly those which St. Justin gives. We find in them, summarily, the various positions taken by St. Justin and the proofs he makes use of in his controversy with the Jews.

The text of the *Dialogue* has reached us in an imperfect state. In ch. lxxiv, 3, a considerable fragment has been lost, unnoticed by the copyist of the manuscript. It very probably lacks also the dedication to a certain Marcus Pompeius, [39] who is not named till towards the end of the book (ch. cxli, 5).

According to St. Justin himself (lxxxv, 4), the disputation with Trypho lasted two days, and the *Dialogue* was accordingly divided into two parts. The transition between these two parts was made in the lost ch. lxxiv. This remark of the author, however, by no means gives us the logical division of the treatise, for on the second day Justin repeats a number of things he had said the day before. The absence of all order from his composition renders it as difficult to determine the logical division in the *Dialogue* as in the *Apologies*. All we can say is that, after describing his conversion in the introduction (i-viii), Justin develops three principal ideas: *1*. the decline of the old Covenant and its precepts; *2*. the identity of the Logos with the God who appeared in the Old Testament, spoke to the patriarchs and prophets and, last of all, became incarnate in the virgin Mary; and *3*. the calling of the Gentiles as the true people of God. According to Otto, the first idea is developed in chs. x-xlvii; the second in chs. xlviii-cviii, and the third in chs. cix-cxlii. Other authors propose other divisions.

As we have said, the disputation with Trypho must have taken place — if it took place at all — at Ephesus[1] during the war of Bar-Cocheba in 132-135.[2] However, the Dialogue itself, which reproduces the disputation, is subsequent to the first Apology.[3] Critics are generally agreed in placing the date of composition between 155-161. Where it was written is not known.

The Apologies and the Dialogue constitute the essential part of St. Justin's authentic works. Of somewhat less value are four fragments — the first of which is quite lengthy — concerning a treatise *On the Resurrection* ascribed to Justin by Procopius of Gaza and St. John Damascene.[4] Whatever may be said concerning the authenticity of this treatise, it is certainly very ancient, since Methodius of Olympus seems to allude to it at the end of the third century. Harnack places it between the years 150 and 180.

We must regard as spurious three treatises, bearing titles [40] identical with, or similar to, the titles of treatises of Justin, mentioned by Eusebius and falsely attributed to the Saint. These are the *Oratio ad Gentes*, the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, and the *De Monarchia*.[5] The *Oratio* and perhaps also the *De Monarchia* belong to the second century; the *Cohortatio* to the second half of the third.

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1 Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 18, 6.

2 *Dial.*, i, 3.

3 *Dial.*, cxx, 6.

4 Text in Otto, in, or better in K. Holl, *Fragmente vornicān. Kirchenväter*, Leipzig, 1889 (*T. U.*, xx).

5 In Otto, III.

The six treatises which follow in the complete editions of St. Justin[1] have still less right to be there. The *Epistula ad Zenam et Screnum* is an exhortation addressed, it seems, to monks and ascetics. According to a conjecture of Batiffol, it was written by Sisinnius,[2] the Novatian bishop of Constantinople (c. 400). The other five — *Expositio Rectae Fidei*,[3] *Confutatio Dogmatum Quorundam* …, *Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* …, *Quaestiones Christianorum* …, and *Quaestiones Gentilium* have been ascribed by Harnack to Diodorus of Tarsus (d. 391-392). According to Funk, the *Expositio* belongs to the fifth century and the *Responsiones* should be ascribed to Theodoret. It seems certain that the three or four last treatises are the work of one and the same author.

3. TATIAN[4]

TATIAN was born of heathen parents, probably in 120, in Assyria, *i. e*., in the country situated beyond the river Tigris. He received a Greek education, studied history, rhetoric and philosophy, and became a sophist, travelling from city to city to deliver his speeches and give his lessons in ethics. He studied many different religions and was initiated into several mystery cults, but nowhere found satisfaction. It was in reading the Scriptures that he found the light he was seeking, and so became a Christian.[5]

His conversion occurred probably in Rome. Almost immediately he became a "hearer" and disciple of St. Justin [41] and, like him, was pursued by Crescens,[6] c. 155-160. Eusebius tells us that Tatian opened a school in Rome and that Rhodon was one of his disciples.[7] It is not known whether this took place before or after the death of St. Justin. In either case, Tatian did not remain faithful to the teaching of his master: he abandoned the Church in the twelfth year of Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius and St. Epiphanius say that he founded the sect of the Encratites. According to Irenaeus he denied that Adam was saved, condemned marriage as fornication, and believed in a series of eons.

Tatian had probably left Rome by this time. He with drew into Mesopotamia, the land of his birth, and there spent the last days of his life. We do not know the date of his death.

A comparison has often been drawn between the character and disposition of Tatian and that of Tertullian. This comparison is justified because, although Tatian has not the genius of Tertullian, they are both excessive, violent, and fond of paradox. Instead of trying to conciliate his opponents in order to win them over, Tatian repulses them by invective and sarcasm. He can find no good in them: Greek art is immoral, Greek literature childish, Greek philosophy false, the Greek language neither pure nor uniform. From beginning to end his is an apology of the clenched fist. Each line betrays arrogance and bitterness.

From a literary point of view, the *Apology* of Tatian —the only work of his that is entirely preserved — is extremely obscure and difficult to interpret. This obscurity is due partly, no doubt, to the imperfect condition of the text, but partly also to the author's style. Tatian had been a sophist and retained the affected style of a sophist, seeking for new figures and sensational phrases. This does not prevent him from sometimes being careless and trivial. Although he loses sight of his subject less often than St. Justin, he allows himself to drift into digressions, which interrupt the trend of his discourse. What we most admire in him is the brilliance, the sincerity, and the enthusiasm of the controversialist. "Tatian," concludes Puech, "… sometimes offends by his negligence, sometimes by his affectation, but it would be too severe a judgment to call him a barbarian; … he is a pretentious but able writer."

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[1] OTTO, IV, V. For the *Responsiones*, special and better edition by PAPADOPULOS KERAMEUS, 1895.

[2] *Revue Biblique*, v (1896), 114-122.

[3] We have two recensions: the longest is the original.

[4] Special edition of the *Discourse to the Greeks* by E. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig, 1888 (*T. U*., IV, 1). See A. PUECH, *Recherches sur le Discours aux Grecs de Tatien*, Paris, 1903 (with a French translation). For the *Diatesseron*, Cf. *infra*.

[5] *Or*. 29.

[6] *Or*. 19.

[7] *H. E*., v, 13, 1, 8.

We know from Tatian himself that he composed a work [42] *On Animals* or *On Living Beings* (περὶ ζώων),[1] and perhaps another in which he treated of the nature of demons.[2] He intended to write "*Against Those who have Treated of Divine Things*," *i. e*., against the pagan theologians.[3] Rhodon, a disciple of Tatian, mentions a "*Book of Problems*,"[4] probably a collection of obscure passages in the Scriptures. Clement of Alexandria refers to a work of Tatian "*On Perfection according to the Precepts of the Savior*," which forbids marriage.[5] The only two writings of Tatian we can read to-day are the *Discourse to the Greeks* (Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας), preserved entire, and the *Diatessaron*, which has been partly reconstructed.

The Discourse was not composed at Rome, but more likely at Antioch, for the author addresses native Greeks, and not merely Greek-speaking persons.[6] It was probably written after the death of St. Justin,[7] but before the author's break with the Church, c. 172-173. The date of its composition must be placed between 165 and 173.[8] It was evidently intended for wide circulation.

The work is divided into three parts: (1) an introduction (1-4) in which Tatian begs the Greeks not to deal too rigorously with the barbarians (*i. e*., Christians), who are in fact superior to them; (2) an exposition of the principal Christian teachings (5-30) concerning the Logos, the Resurrection, the Angels and demons, the soul, the spirit, the world, etc., compared with the religious and philosophical teachings of the Greeks and in particular with their mythology: the superiority of the former is more than evident; (3) a chronological discussion (31-41). Not only is the Christian doctrine superior to the pagan teachings; it is more ancient. Moses lived 400 years before the Trojan War celebrated by Homer,— lived even before the sages who preceded this poet. Chs. 33 and 34 contain what is called the *Catalogue of Statues*. It is an enumeration of the Greek sculptures Tatian had seen in Rome, interesting for the history of art. In a short conclusion the Apologist [43] reaffirms his faith and his intention to persevere in it.

Tatian's other work, of which only fragments remain, is the *Diatessaron*[9] (Τὸ διὰ τεσσάων εὐαγγέλιον). It is a Gospel-harmony compiled from the four Gospels with the texts arranged in such a way as to give a chronological exposition of the life and teachings of Christ. This work was originally written in Syriac and must be assigned to a date subsequent to Tatian's return to the East (c. 172). Up to the fifth century it was very popular throughout the Christian churches of Syria, which adopted it for their liturgical services. It is quoted by Aphraates and commented upon by St. Ephraem.

We have not the complete text, but it has been possible partly to reconstruct it by means of an Armenian translation of St. Ephraem's commentary and with the help of a later revision of the Gospel-harmony in Arabic, and of another in Latin, both of which have preserved the plan of composition of the original *Diatessaron*.

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[1] *Or*. 15.

[2] *Or*. 16.

[3] *Or*. 40.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E*., v, 13, 8.

[5] *Strom*., iii, 12.

[6] *Or*., 35.

[7] Cf. *Or*., 18.

[8] According to Puech, c. 171.

[9] Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, Erlangen, 1881; Id., *Geschichte des neutestam. Kanons*, Erlangen, 1888, I and II; P. A. Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae arabice*, Romae, 1888. E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis Nov. Testam. latine Interprets Hieronymo;* Marpurgi, 1868. See J. F. Stenning, article "*Diatessaron*" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra volume, p. 451.

4. ATHENAGORAS[1]

ATHENAGORAS is mentioned neither by Eusebius nor by St. Jerome, and we know very little about him. He was an Athenian philosopher, though perhaps not born in Athens. According to a sketch in the *Christian History* of Philip of Side, who wrote c. 430, he was at first a heathen, and became a Christian by reading the Scriptures. Perhaps he lived for a time in Alexandria.

We can get an idea of his character and methods from what writings of his have come down to us. He is a philosopher in every sense of the term. His primary object is to instruct and to demonstrate. Whilst Justin is an apostle, and Tatian a polemist, Athenagoras is a professor who discourses according to all the rules of grammar and [44] logic. His composition is as lucid and orderly as that of Justin and Tatian is loose and careless. He never for a moment strays from his subject; he makes no display of rhetoric or figurative language. In all his writings we meet with forcible reasoning and a powerful style, so concise that it borders at times on dryness, truly the style of a philosopher. Strange to say, this convinced Christian, in writing against the pagans on the resurrection of bodies, draws no proof for this dogma from revelation and the Scriptures.

We have two of Athenagoras works: an apology and a treatise *On the Resurrection of Bodies*.

1. The apology is entitled *Supplication for the Christians* (περὶ χριστιανῶν). It was addressed to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus. The titles given to Marcus Aurelius and to Commodus, as well as the reference, in the first chapter, to the profound peace then prevailing, enable us to fix the date of the composition of this work between December A. D. 176, and the first months of 178. The work was undoubtedly written at Athens.

The arrangement of ideas is most lucid. After soliciting the attention of the Emperors, Athenagoras enumerates the three chief accusations current against the Christians: atheism, immorality and anthropophagy (1-3). He refutes these three calumnies successively. The Christians are not atheists: they adore one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. It is true they do not offer any bloody sacrifices, nor do they worship the pagan gods; but the true God has no need of such crude sacrifices, and the gods of paganism are no gods at all, but men who have been deified (4-30).

The second accusation, that of immorality, is equally without foundation. Christians profess belief in the torments of hell; they condemn even the thought of evil. The pagans themselves commit the atrocities of which they accuse the Christians (31-34).

With regard to the Thyestean banquets, Christians are in no way guilty of such crimes, but hate homicide, avoid the gladiatorial fights, condemn the exposure of children, and believe in the resurrection of bodies (35-36).

He concludes with an appeal to the justice and clemency of the Emperors (37).

2. In ch. 36 of his apology, Athenagoras promised a discussion [45] of the doctrine of the resurrection. This work must have followed very closely upon the former, and was perhaps written in 178 or 179. Certain details in chs. 1, 19, 23, and the order of ideas followed still more rigorously than in the apology, favor the opinion that it was a lecture or conference, first delivered orally and later circulated in written form.

The lecture is divided into two parts: (1) a refutation of the objections brought against the possibility of the resurrection (1-10), and (2) a demonstration of it as a fact (11-25). In the first part the author proves that there is nothing in the resurrection of bodies above the power of God and contrary to His attributes. In the second he emphasizes more especially the unity of the human person, concluding that the eternal life and happiness, which are the end of man, are for his body as much as for his soul, and that the body which

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[1] Special edition by E. SCHWARTZ, Leipzig, 1888 (*T. U.*, IV, 2); FREPPEL, *Les Apologistes Chrétiens au IIᵉ Siècle*, 2nd series, 3rd edit., Paris, 1888; L. ARNOULD, *De Apologia Athenagorae*, Paris, 1898; L. CHAUDOUARD, *Étude sur le* Περὶ ἀναστάσεως *d'Athénagore*, Lyons, 1908.

participates in the good and bad actions of the soul, must be punished or rewarded with it. This cannot take place without the resurrection.

5. Theophilus of Antioch[1]

Theophilus came from that part of Syria which borders on Mesopotamia. He was born a pagan and was converted to Christianity by meditating on the Scriptures. Towards the year 169, he succeeded Cornelius as bishop of Antioch. Eusebius places the end of his episcopate in 177; most probably it lasted until 182 or 183, for the books *To Autolycus* were not completed until after the death of Marcus Aurelius (Mar. 17, 180).

Theophilus received a Greek education and seems to have had some knowledge of Hebrew. He is inferior to Justin and Athenagoras in depth of philosophical thought, but surpasses them in extent and variety of literary culture. His style is lively, imaginative, and original; his diction, elegant and ornate. He was well read, but his reading had not stifled personal reflection and judgment.

Besides the *Apology to Autolycus*, which we shall examine presently, Theophilus wrote a work, in at least two books, upon the origin of mankind according to the Bible and mythology (cf. *Ad Autolyc*., ii, 28, 30, 31, iii, 3, 19). [46] Eusebius mentions other writings of his,— a work against the heresy of Hermogenes, another against Marcion, and a few books for the instruction and edification of the faithful.[2] St. Jerome mentions a *Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* and *Commentaries on the Gospel*.[3] Of all these works, there remain but the fragments of the Commentaries cited by St. Jerome.

We have in full, however, the three books *To Autolycus*. Autolycus was a learned heathen, who seems to have been a magistrate. The three *Discourses* (λόγοι) addressed to him by Theophilus are not, properly speaking, parts of the same work, but three distinct treatises which have been joined together. This was done because there is a real connection among them: they are addressed to the same person and deal with almost the same topics.

The first book contains fourteen chapters and was written apropos of a conversation with Autolycus, who had asked Theophilus to show him his God, had praised the gods of paganism and scoffed at the name of Christian. Theophilus treats of the nature of the true God, who is invisible to the eyes of the body, but whose existence is known to us, and whom we shall contemplate as He is when we shall be clothed in incorruptibility. He denounces the gods of paganism and extols the Christians.

The second book contains thirty-eight chapters. It reverts to the thoughts previously expressed in order to develop them more fully. In the first part (2-8) the author exposes the insufficiency and childishness of the pagan teachings. In the second part (9-38) he contrasts these teachings with those of Holy Scripture concerning the origin of the world, the worship due to God, and the moral life man should lead.

The third book contains thirty chapters and is an answer to an objection of Autolycus. "Your religion," he says, "is new, and your Scriptures are recent writings." The first fifteen chapters show the futility of the accusations brought against Christians concerning immorality and anthropophagy. In ch. 16 he takes up the chronological discussion and gives a resumé of Jewish history. He concludes that Moses must have lived from 900 to 1000 years before the Trojan War. He counts 5695 years from the beginning of the world to the death of Marcus Aurelius. [47]

From the fact that the author ends his calculation with Aurelius death we conclude that the third book to Autolycus was written in the first years of the reign of the Emperor Commodus (c. 180-182). As the three books followed very closely upon one another, we may assume that the entire work was written approximately between 178 and 182.

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[1] Text in Otto, *Corp. Apolog.*, VIII. See Freppel, *Les Apologistes Chrétiens an II^c siècle*, 2nd series, Paris, 3rd edit., 1888.

[2] *H. E.*, iv, 24.

[3] *Vir. ill.*, 25.

6. The Letter to Diognetus[1]

Not a single ancient writer mentions the *Letter to Diognetus*. The only manuscript which contained it — destroyed in 1870 — attributed it to St. Justin, but the letter is certainly not from his pen. As we lack all evidence from other extrinsic sources, we can only make more or less probable conjectures concerning its authorship. The epistolary form given to this small work may be only a literary fiction.

We are limited to conjectures based on internal evidence. The letter comprises ten chapters.[2] Diognetus had asked the author why the Christians neither adore the pagan gods nor practice the Jewish worship, what life they lead and why Christianity appeared so late in the world. The author answers these questions in due order. *1*. The Christians do not adore the gods of the heathen because these gods are nothing more than wood, stone, or metal. *2*. Neither do they imitate the worship of the Jews, because, although this worship is rendered to God, it is childish and unworthy of Him. *3*. There follows an ideal description of the Christian way of living. The Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body, — a superior and life-giving principle (5-7). *4*. That Christianity has appeared so late, is because God wished to make men conscious of their weakness and corruption before sending them the Redeemer (8-9). The conclusion is an exhortation to conversion (10).

The *Letter to Diognetus* is one of the most perfect literary compositions handed down to us from ancient Christian times. The author is as sympathetic and well-meaning [48] as St. Justin, but he is a better writer. With soundness of doctrine and loftiness of thought he combines the gift of developing his ideas in a clear, harmonious, and progressive manner and of putting into his exposition force and life without breaking the thread of his theme. He was evidently a man of breadth and culture.

The *Letter* belongs to a period after the first and before the fourth century; this is sufficiently proved by the mention the author makes of present persecutions (5, 6). Renan, Zahn, and Harnack would place it in the third century; Kihn, Kruger, and Bardenhewer, in the second. The last-named author takes this view because Christianity is represented in the *Letter* as a recent foundation and depicted in its first fervor.

7. Hermias[3]

The Mockery of Heathen Philosophers (Διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων) by Hermias, the philosopher, in 10 chapters, is entirely different from the *Letter to Diognetus*. The author wishes to show that the heathen philosophers are not in agreement, nay hold contradictory opinions concerning the nature of the soul (1-2) and the first principle of all things (3-10). He proves this by placing under the reader's eye the principal philosophers and their schools of thought, calling attention to the solutions they have given to the above problems.

This treatise is very superficial and all but worthless. It is not an apology, but a light and bantering satire (διασυρμός) that is of no value since the philosophical systems ridiculed by the author are neither studied nor criticized.

We do not know who Hermias was. The author and his work are never mentioned by ancient writers. A few critics (Diels, Wendland, Harnack) assign the composition to the fifth or sixth century, when paganism was no longer popular. Bardenhewer places it in the third century, on the ground that Hermias seems to know nothing of Neo-Platonism. [49]

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[1] Text in Otto, *Corp. Apolog.*, III, and in Funk, *Patres Apostolici*. See H. Doulcet, *L'Apologie d'Aristide et l'Epitre a Diognète*, in the *Revue des Quest. Histor.*, XXVIII (1880), 601-612. L. Radford, *The Epistle to Diognetus*, London, 1908.

[2] Chapters 11 and 12 do not belong to the letter. Certain critics see in them a fragment of some work of St. Hippolytus.

[3] Text in Otto, ix. Special edit, by W. F. Menzel, Leyden, 1840. See Di Pauli, *Die Irrisio des Hermias*, Paderborn, 1907.

8. MINUCIUS FELIX[1]

One of the best apologies of the period from the second to the third century, and one of the most ancient productions of Latin Christian literature, is the *Octavius* of MINUCIUS FELIX.

The *Octavius* is a dialogue divided into four parts.

1. It opens with an introduction (1-4) in which the characters appear upon the scene. The author, who calls himself Marcus, wishes to tell how his friend Octavius succeeded in winning over to Christianity the pagan Caecilius Natalis. One day these three were enjoying a walk by the sea, near Ostia, when they passed before a statue of Serapis. Caecilius salutes the statue and the act starts a discussion of the religious question. They determine to thresh out the question thoroughly, and Marcus is constituted arbiter of the controversy between Caecilius and Octavius.

2. The second part (5-13) is taken up almost entirely by a speech of Caecilius. In this speech we may distinguish three leading ideas:

a) *A philosophical development*. Truth is inaccessible: we know nothing about the gods, who, at any rate, are little concerned with men. Hence, in matters of religion it is wiser to follow the laws of one's own country.

b) *An attack upon Christianity*. The Christians do not follow these laws: they form a secret society, immoral and criminal, the enemy of all mankind. Moreover, their worship is absurd, since they adore a crucified man.

c) *Conclusion*. Away with all religious innovations: let things remain as they are.

3. In the third part (14-38) Octavius closely follows the arguments of his opponent and refutes them one by one. We can know God: reason proves the existence of one God and of a Providence. Polytheism originated from a suggestion of the demons; they are the ones who spread against the Christians the calumnies mentioned by Caecilius. The Christians are pure in all their ways; their beliefs and their worship are reasonable and, in spite of persecutions, they [50] find in the testimony of a good conscience a peace and happiness no one can take away. Things must not be allowed to remain as they are: "*Cohibeatur superstitio, impietas expietur, vera religio reservetur*."

4. The fourth part (39-41) is the conclusion: Caecilius admits his defeat and becomes a Christian.

Critics are of one accord in declaring the *Octavius* to be the masterpiece of an able writer who, though possessed of very few original ideas, treated his subject in classic literary form. The dialogue has artistic freshness and beauty; the life and emotion that pervade it are never expressed in terms that are too violent. It is evidently modelled on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum* and *De Divinatione*, as well as on Seneca's *De Providentia* and *De Superstitione*. The author wished to offer to educated pagans a defence of Christianity that would be acceptable to them, clothed as it was in a literary form which they relished. Hence his care to set aside in this exposition of the Christian religion everything mysterious or obscure for human reason and to bring into bold relief instead the lofty spiritual and moral teaching of the new faith.

The author of the *Octavius* calls himself, as we have already said, Marcus (3, 5). Lactantius and St. Jerome give us his full name, Marcus Minucius Felix. He was a distinguished lawyer, probably of African extraction, who lived in Rome and who, in his later years, passed from Stoicism to Christianity (1). The hero of the dialogue, Octavius Januarius, was also a convert, but he was dead when the book was written (1). As to his pagan friend, Caecilius Natalis, he too lived in Rome, although he seems to have come from

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[1] Many editions: the most complete is that of J. P. WALTZING, Louvain, 1903, with French translation and commentary. French translation by F. RECORD, Paris, 1911. See P. DE FELICE, *Étude sur l'Octavius de Min. Felix*, Blois, 1880; GASTON BOISSIER, *La Fin du Paganisme*, Paris, 1891, tome I; P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Littér, de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, I, Paris, 1901.

Cirta (9,31). An inscription has been found there relating to a certain *Marcus Caecilius Quinti filius Quirina Natalis*, who was a triumvir under Caracalla (211-217).

The *Octavius* was certainly written after the year 175, because Fronto, who is spoken of as being dead or, at least, as a very old man (9,31), died shortly after 175. A more precise dating of the composition would depend upon the opinion adopted concerning the relations of the *Octavius* with the *Apologeticum* of Tertullian. It is certain that one of the two authors knew and borrowed from the other. The *Apologeticum* dates from the year 197, and if its author made use of the Octavius, the latter must be placed between 175-197. If, on the contrary, the author of the *Octavius* [51] used the *Apologeticum*, the former work must be posterior to 197 and must be placed at the end of the second or in the first half of the third century. This question is one of those upon which most critics are divided. Muralt, Ebert, Schwenke, and others uphold the priority of the *Octavius*; Massebieau, Harnack, and Monceaux, that of the *Apologeticum*. According to the latter group, the *Octavius* must be placed between 197 and 250.

[52]

SECTION III

THE HERETICAL AND APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE OF THE SECOND CENTURY

The Church in the second century had not only to maintain her right to exist against the pagans; she had also to defend her faith against the heretics. Side by side with the Apologists, therefore, she numbered many controversialists and doctors. Before speaking of their works, a word should be said of the principal authors and writings they had to confute. We shall complete the study with a passing notice of the Apocryphal Writings, especially the New Testament Apocrypha, a great number of which, as we shall see, are of heretical origin.

In many cases we shall have to content ourselves with merely indicating the titles of the writings, both for the sake of brevity and because many of these works are known only by their names. With the exception of a few books, the heretical literature of the second century has perished, because the Church waged war against it and also because such uninteresting works were naturally neglected. Once the sects died out, their literary productions passed quickly into oblivion.

Three great heterodox movements assailed the Church or developed in her bosom during the second century: Judeo-Christianity, Gnosticism, and Montanism. We shall devote a few pages to each.

1. JUDEO-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE[1]

Judeo-Christianity, known also, in its strictest and frankly heretical form, as Ebionitism, sprang from an excessive attachment of certain Jewish Christians to the ceremonies and prescriptions of the Mosaic Law. These Christians [53] looked upon certain observances which the Gospel had annulled as indispensable for salvation and regarded Jesus as a human Messias, such as the Jews were expecting. Their principal center was at Pella, beyond the Jordan, and in the surrounding country. They formed various sects: the Ebionites, the Essenians, and the Elkesaites.

Among the Ebionite writings we must mention first those of SYMMACHUS. He is known for his translation of the Old Testament into Greek (c. 161-211), but composed also commentaries on an adulterated gospel of St. Matthew;[2] the so-called *Journeys of Peter* (Περίοδοι Πέτρου); interpolated Acts of the Apostles in use among the members of the sect, which included the *Ascents of James* (οἱ ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου); and, most important of all, the *Clementine Romances*, which have been preserved.

These writings have been collected under the name of *Clementine Literature*, because St. Clement of Rome plays an important part in them and is even supposed to be their author. They comprise the *Greek Homilies* and the *Recognitions*.[3]

The *Homilies* are twenty in number; they are prefaced by a letter of Peter to James, an attestation (διαμαρτυρία) of James and his priests, and a letter of Clement to James, in which he informs him that he is sending a summary of Peter's discourses. The twenty *Homilies* follow. They are a mixture of more or less fantastic stories and theological controversies. Clement tells the story of his own conversion and of his travels with St. Peter in the persecution of Simon Magus. The primary purpose of the work, however, is to give an exposition of the pretended doctrinal teaching of Peter. This doctrine is, of course, Ebionite: Christian revelation is simply a restoration of Mosaic revelation, which, in turn, is a restoration of primitive revelation.

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[1] See O. BARDENHEWER, *Gesch. der altkirchlich. Literatur*, I, 2nd edit., p. 377-381.

[2] EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccles*., vi, 17; ST. JEROME, *Vir. Ill*., 54.

[3] Text in *Patrol. Graeca*, tom. I and II. See H. WAITZ, *Die Pseudoklementinen, Homilien und Rckognitionen*, Leipzig, 1904 (*T. U*. xxv, 4); A. HARNACK, *Die Chronologie der altchr. Liter*., II, p. 518 ff.

The subject-matter of the *Recognitions* is about the same as that of the *Homilies*. We possess them only in a rather inaccurate Latin translation by Rufinus. The peculiar title of "Recognitions" is given to the work because, according to the fictitious accounts which, in both books, form the framework of the doctrinal discussions, Clement recovers in [54] the course of his journeys his father, mother, and two brothers, whom he had lost.[1]

According to Waitz and Harnack, the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* are two independent recensions of an anterior work which bore, perhaps, the title of *Clement's Epitome of the Sermons made by St. Peter* (Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδημίων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή) or *Journeys of Peter* [*written*] *by Clement* (Περίοδοι Πέτρου διὰ Κλήμεντος; *v. supra*). This work is regarded as the synthesis of two others still more ancient,— the *Sermons of Peter* (Κηρύγματα Πέτρου), clearly Ebionite-Gnostic, and the Acts of Peter (Πράξεις Πέτρου), anti-Gnostic. The *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*, and the writings of which they are summaries, are said to be the work of orthodox authors, whose primary purpose was to write an edifying apology, but who did not take sufficient care to eliminate the Judeo-Christian characteristics contained in the Κηρύγματα. Harnack thinks that the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* received their present form in the fourth century at Rome, or in Syria, the book of which they are recensions having been composed between 225 and 300 at Rome, and the two primitive works c. 200.

A work entitled *The Book of Elkesai* (Elxai), brought to Rome c. 220-230 by a certain Alcibiades,[2] was attributed to Elkesai (Elxai), the (problematical) founder of the sect of the Elkesaites. St. Epiphanius[3] mentions a book of Jexaī, brother of Elkesai, which was also in use in the sect.

2. Gnostic Literature[4]

The generic name of *Gnostics* comprised a number of sects the doctrines and tendencies of which were often at great variance, but all of which claimed to be in possession of a superior religious science and a far more penetrating insight into Christian revelation than that of the simple [55] faithful and the official Church. Two important questions above all others attracted the attention of these sects: the origin of evil and the manner in which the redemption was effected. Each sect discussed these problems and each endeavored to solve the mystery.

Gnostic literature was very voluminous. Since the Gnostics generally professed that men have to work out their salvation by means of science (*gnosis*), they were naturally led to write out for the use of their adepts a good part of their teachings and secret traditions. Very little, however, remains of all this literature,— at the most five or six complete works and a number of fragments inserted in the writings of the historians of heresies.[5] In the following sketch we can mention only the principal works.

We will follow the order commonly adopted in speaking of the Gnostic sects: Syrian Gnosis, Alexandrine Gnosis, Marcionism and Encratism. This classification is merely provisional and questionable in some details; but for want of a better one it may be accepted.

1. Syrian Gnosis.— It is a well-known fact that ancient authors are agreed in recognizing Simon Magus as the father of Gnosticism. St. Hippolytus gives us quotations from, as well as an analysis of, a *Revelation* (Ἀπόφασις), the book used by the Simonians.[6] We do not know whether Cerinthus, Menander, or Satornilus

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[1] Besides these two principal texts, we have: a) a Syriac compilation of the Clementine Romances, which combine the two texts; b) two Greek epitomes, which sum up the Homilies, and c) two Arabic epitomes, which sum up the Homilies and the Recognitions.

[2] *Philosophoumena*, ix, 13 ff.

[3] *Haer*., xix, 1; liii, 1.

[4] See O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Literatur*, 1, 2nd edit., p. 343-376; A. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchr. Liter*., 1, 143-205; *Die Chronologie*, I, 289-311; 533-541; II, 128-132; E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme, étude critique des documents du gnosticisme chrétien aux IIᵒ et IIIᵒ siècles*, Paris, 1913.

[5] These fragments may be largely found in tome VII of the *Patrologia Graeca*, col. 1263-1322.

[6] *Philosoph*., vi, 7-20.

wrote anything. The Nicolaites possessed some Books of *Ialdabaoth*, a book entitled *Noria*, a *Prophecy of Barkabbas*, a *Gospel of Perfection* (or *consummation*, τελειώσεως) and a *Gospel of Eve*, which seems to have been an apocalypse.[1]

2. ALEXANDRINE GNOSIS.— This Gnosis is represented first by three great leaders — Basilides, Valentine and Carpocrates — and secondly by a multitude of more or less definite sects without leaders, who have received the generic name of *Ophites*.

a) BASILIDES taught at Alexandria, between 120 and 140, a doctrine which, according to his followers, he received from a certain Glaukias, interpreter of St. Peter. He had a son named Isidorus, who kept up the teaching after his father's death. Basilides wrote a *Gospel*, 23 or 24 books of [56] *Commentaries* on it, a few quotations of which still remain, and some *Odes*, mentioned by Origen and the Muratorian Fragment. His son, ISIDORUS, left three works: On the Second Soul (Περὶ προσφυοῦς ψυχῆς), *i.e*., the soul of man under the influence of the passions; *Ethica*, and an *Exposition of the Prophet Parchor* in at least two books.

b) The VALENTINIANS were the most considerable and the best known of all the Gnostic sects. VALENTINE himself was an Egyptian and pretended to have studied under a certain Theodas, a personal disciple of St. Paul. He preached his doctrine first in Egypt, came to Rome under Pope Hyginus, and resided there until the advent of Pope Anicetus, about 135-160. He was driven out of the Church several times and at length retired to the Isle of Cyprus.

Tertullian praises the wisdom and eloquence of Valentine. Early writers are acquainted with his *Letters*, *Homilies*, and *Psalms*, but he does not seem to have written the *Gospel of Truth* which, according to St. Irenaeus (iii, II, 9), was in use among the members of his sect.

This sect spread throughout the Roman Empire and soon divided into two branches, known respectively as the Western or Italian branch, which declared that the body of the Savior was of a psychic nature, and the Eastern branch, which maintained that it was pneumatic.

HERACLEON belonged to the Western branch and was the ablest of Valentine's disciples. He wrote between 155 and 180. We have more than forty fragments, some of them lengthy, of his commentary on St. John, entitled Ὑπομνήματα. The commentary itself probably went no further than the tenth chapter. As a rule his exegesis is allegorical.

PTOLEMY was another personal disciple of Valentinus, He has left us a *Letter to Flora*, the complete text of which was preserved by St. Epiphanius.[2] Flora was a Christian lady, who hesitated to undertake the studies or gnosis imposed by the Gnostics. To convince her, Ptolemy undertakes to prove that at least part of the Old Law was the work, not of the Supreme God, but of the Demiurge.

After these two great representatives of Western Valentinianism, we must name: FLORINUS, to whom St. Irenaeus addressed a letter reproaching him with his blasphemous writings; THEOTIMUS, who wrote on the figures of the [57] Old Testament, and ALEXANDER, author of a book alluded to by Tertullian,[3] which may have been entitled Syllogisms.

The principal writers of the Eastern branch of the Valentinians are Marcus, Theodotus, and Bardesanes.

MARCUS, whom some authors assign to the Western branch, taught in Asia Minor, c. 180. He is known to us principally through St. Irenaeus, who very probably possessed one of his works and also some of the numerous works of his sect.

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[1] PHILASTRIUS, *Haer*., 33; ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Haer*., xxv-xxvi.

[2] *Haer*., xxxiii, 3-7.

[3] *De Carne Christi*, 16, 17.

Of THEODOTUS we know nothing, but Clement of Alexandria had at least one of his writings, since he gives a series of extracts from it in his *Excerpta ex Scriptis Theodoti*.[1]

BARDESANES is generally counted among the Valentinians, and indeed Eusebius[2] affirms that, before he became an orthodox Catholic, he was more or less infected by Valentinianism. It is infinitely more probable, however, that the qualification of Gnostic is less applicable to the master than to his disciples, who distorted his teachings. Bardesanes devoted himself especially to the exact sciences and to astrology.[3] He was born of noble parents at Edessa, July 11, 154, and in his youth was the companion of the future toparch of Edessa, Abgar IX (179-214). After the conquest of Edessa by Caracalla, 216-217, he was forced to withdraw into Armenia, but returned to his native town and died there in 222 or 223.

St. Ephraem relates that Bardesanes composed 150 *Psalms* as well as melodies for them; this would make him the most ancient of Syriac hymnologists. It is possible that a few fragments of these songs may yet be found in the *Syriac Acts of St. Thomas*. Different authors, among them Eusebius,[4] attribute to him a few dialogues written against the Marcionists and other heretics. His most popular work is that *On Fate* (Περὶ εἱμαρμένης), which has been found in Syriac, bearing the title of *Book of the Laws of the Countries*.[5] The work is written in dialogue form, and Bardesanes [58] has been considered its author because he is the chief interlocutor. In reality, however, it is written by one of his disciples, named Philip. Bardesanes makes a study of the laws and customs of various countries and proves, against a certain Avida, that human liberty is in no way affected by the stars.

HARMONIUS, the son of Bardesanes, wrote many works in Syriac. His *Odes* are mentioned, and Sozomen[6] says that he was the true author of the 150 *Psalms* mentioned above.

c) CARPOCRATES was the third leader of the Alexandrine Gnostics. He was a contemporary of Valentine and Basilides. We do not know if he wrote at all. His son, EPIPHANES, who died when only seventeen years of age, has left us a treatise *On Justice*, cited by Clement of Alexandria.[7] He is an advocate of out-and-out communism. St. Irenaeus mentions *in globo* several Carpocratian writings (1,25,4, 5).

d) Under the Alexandrine Gnosis must also be ranged the many subsidiary sects derived from it and designated under the general name of *Ophites*, or "Brethren of the Serpent." The *Ophites* were the first to take the name of *Gnostics*. The name *Ophites* was used in connection with the part generally played in their system by the serpent in the garden of Eden. These sects branched out very widely and produced many writings. Apocrypha of the New Testament (to be mentioned later) abounded among them. Among their other productions we may mention: *Great and Small Questions of Mary*, Hymns and Naasinian Psalms, a *Paraphrase of Seth*, some books attributed to the children of Seth, entitled *Strangers* (Ἀλλογενεῖς), a *Symphony*, an *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and an *Assumption of Isaias*. The Gnostic Justin, mentioned in the *Philosophoumena*, cites, among others, a work entitled *Baruch*.[8] MONOÏMUS left us a *Letter to Theophrastes*.[9]

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[1] *Patr. Graeca*, ix, 653-698; edit. STAEHLIN, Vol. III, 105 ff.

[2] *H. E.*, iv, 30.

[3] See F. NAU, *Une Biographic inédite de Bardesane l'Astrologue*, Paris, 1897; and R. GRAFFIN, *Patrologia Syriaca*, II, Paris, 1907, p. 490-658. *Diction. de Théologie Catholique*, article "BARDESANE."

[4] *H. E.*, iv, 30.

[5] Edit. F. NAU, in *Patrologia Syriaca*, loc. cit. French transl. in V. LANGLOIS, *Collection des Historiens de l'Armenie*, I, Paris, 1867, p. 73 ff.

[6] *H. E.*, iii, 16.

[7] *Strom.*, iii, 2.

[8] *Philos.*, v, 24.

[9] *Ibid.*, viii, 15.

According to C. Schmidt, several other Gnostic writings, preserved entirely or almost entirely in Coptic, belong to the Ophitic literature. These are the *Pistis Sophia* and the writings contained in the Bruce papyrus. [59]

The work entitled *Pistis Sophia*,[1] in four books, contains three distinct writings. The first of these, which alone deserves the title of "Pistis Sophia," comprises paragraphs 1-181,[2] and relates the fall and deliverance of the eon bearing that name. The second, which probably ought to be identified with the Little Questions of Mary (Mary Magdalen), commences with paragraph 181,[3] and ends with Book III. It discusses the salvation and fate after death of the different categories of men. The third, embodied in Book IV, describes the faults and wickedness of the *Archontici*, the celebration of the mystery of water, and, finally, the punishment of the wicked.

The Bruce codex[4] (Vth-VIth century) contains two distinct writings. The first, in two books, is identical with the *Two Books of Jeu* cited in the *Pistis Sophia*. One of these explains the emanation of the eons, describes the invisible world, and furnishes the reader with the necessary pass-words to reach the Father. The other initiates us into the three baptisms of water, fire, and spirit, and gives other formulas analogous to the pass-words in order to overcome the evil spirits. This treatise is followed immediately by a second, considerably mutilated in the beginning, which seems to be a description of the origin of the supra-sensible world and the visible cosmos.[5]

All these Coptic writings are translated from the Greek and date from the third century. From the point of view of antiquity they rank as follows: the second treatise in the Bruce papyrus comes first, then the books of Jeu and the fourth book of the *Pistis Sophia* and, finally, the first three books of this work.

3. MARCIONISM.—Marcion was born at Sinope in Pontus. [60] About 135-140, he came to Rome and was received into the Church. He soon left the Roman communion, however, and founded a sect, which spread and became strong, and was destined to last for many years. His death occurred, at the latest, in the year 170.

Marcion's system is based upon the opposition between the Law, the work of a just God, and the Gospel, the work of a good God. In support of his doctrine he published a work known as *Antitheses*, a collection of sentences from the Old and New Testaments, which seem to be complete antinomies. He also gave his disciples a New Testament which he himself had composed. This comprised the Gospel of St. Luke, abbreviated and adulterated, and ten epistles of St. Paul. Tertullian attributes to him a letter in which he tries to justify his apostacy.

The best known of Marcion's disciples is APELLES. He lived for a time with his master in Rome, but afterwards left him to settle in Alexandria. There he modified to a certain extent the doctrine of Marcion, but returned to Rome, where he died shortly after A. D. 180. He wrote a work entitled *Syllogisms*, cited by St. Ambrose.[6] This is a very lengthy book, in which the author attempts to prove that the Books of Moses contain nothing but lies. Another work of his is the *Revelations* (φανερώσεις), which describes the pretended revelations of a certain female visionary of the sect, named Philumena.

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[1] Ed. SCHWARTZE-PETERMANN, Berlin, 1851; French transl. by E. AMELINEAU, Paris, 1895; German transl. by C. SCHMIDT, *Koptischgnostische Schriften*, I, Leipzig, 1905.

[2] Schmidt, 1-83.

[3] Schmidt, 83.

[4] Edit. by E. AMELINEAU (text and French transl.), in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc., xxix, 1, Paris, 1891; and by C. SCHMIDT, *Gnostiche Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, Leipzig, 1892 (*T. U.* VIII, 1-2); and in *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, I.

[5] Besides these works, a Coptic papyrus of Berlin (Vth century?) contains three other Gnostic writings, not yet edited: a *Gospel of Mary*, known to St. Irenaeus, an *Apocryph of John*, and *Wisdom of Jesus Christ*.

[6] *De Paradiso*, 28, probably according to Origen.

The Marcionites made use of a special collection of Psalms, distinct from those of David, and also of a work bearing the obscure title of *Liber Propositi Finis*, destined to supplant the Acts of the Apostles.

4. ENCRATISM. — The Encratites do not seem to have formed a distinct sect. They were found nearly everywhere and marked by their tendency to reject as sinful both matrimony and the use of meat. The Valentinian dissenter, JULIUS CASSIANUS, was one of their greatest writers. He flourished at Antioch or Alexandria c. 170. Clement of Alexandria[1] cites two of his works: "Ἐξηγητικὰ" (*Commentaries*), in several books, and a "Περὶ ἐγκρατείας ἢ περὶ εὐνουχίας" (*On Continence*), a condemnation of matrimony. [61]

3. MONTANISTIC LITERATURE[2]

Although St. Hippolytus[3] speaks of countless books written by the founders of Montanism, we know of very few writings belonging to this sect.

The oracular replies of Montanus, Maximilla, Priscilla, and other prophets were certainly collected.[4] About 19 of these — some very doubtful — are cited by different authors.[5]

Tertullian[6] is of the opinion that Montanistic communities dispatched letters to Rome in order to obtain recognition. These letters dated very probably from the commencement of the Montanistic movement, c. 173-180. Eusebius[7] mentions a reply to the anti-Montanistic work of the apologist Miltiades and[8] a Letter called *Catholic*, written by a certain THEMISON. It is also very probable that PROCLUS wrote some work or other. He was a defender of Montanism in Rome under Pope Zephyrinus (198-217), and the priest Caius argued against him.[9]

If we add to these works the Montanistic treatises of Tertullian, we have a fairly complete summary of the writings of the sect that are known to us.

4. APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE — CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The term *apocryphal* (ἀπόκρυφος, hidden), applied to a book, may mean simply that the author and the origin of his work are unknown. In ecclesiastical terminology it means that this book has been excluded from official use in the Church and is not placed in the hands of the faithful. An apocryphal book is an uncanonical book and, besides lacking ecclesiastical recognition, it is often regarded by the Church [62] as being more or less legendary and as propagating questionable or erroneous doctrines.

The purpose of the Biblical Apocrypha is to furnish a new treatment of the historical o-r doctrinal data of the canonical books by completing or amplifying them. They are naturally divided into the Apocrypha of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha of the New Testament, according as they deal with the period previous or subsequent to the coming of Christ.

As a rule, the authors of the first set are Jews, although several of these works have been improved upon by Christian writers. It is for this reason that Christian interpolations are to be found in the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Book of Henoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocalypse of Elias, the Apocalypse of Sophonias, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Books of Adam, the

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[1] *Strom.*, i, 21; iii, 13.

[2] On this subject see the two volumes of P. DE LABROILLE, *La Crise Montaniste*, and *Les Sources de l'Histoire du Montanisme*, Paris and Fribourg, 1913.

[3] *Philosophoumena*, viii, 19.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 16, 17.

[5] See list and text translated and explained in P. DE LABROILLE, *La Crise Montaniste*, p. 34-105.

[6] *Adv. Praxean*, i.

[7] *H. E.*, v, 17, 1.

[8] *Ibid.*, v, 18, 5.

[9] *Ibid.*, ii, 25, 6; iii, 31, 4.

Sibylline Oracles,[1] etc. Others are entirely the work of Christian writers, examples of which have already been seen in connection with Gnostic literature. To this category belong the *Odes of Solomon*.

These odes, forty-two in number, have recently been discovered in a Syriac manuscript of the XVIth or XVIIth century.[2] They are a continuous hymn of the soul in thanksgiving to God for having saved it. Their beauty and lyric inspiration are remarkable. However, the speaker in these odes is not always the same fictitious personage; sometimes it is the converted Christian, sometimes the elect triumphant in heaven, sometimes Jesus Christ Himself. The tone is personal and intimate. No mention is made of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or of the sacrifice of the Redeemer, or of the Sacraments. The terminology closely resembles that of St. John.

The most divergent opinions have been put forth concerning the origin of these odes. The most probable is that they were written entirely in Greek by a Christian in the first half of the second century. The Syriac in that hypothesis would be a translation. It has not yet been proved that the author was a Docetist or even a Gnostic, a few vague textual indications [63] to the contrary notwithstanding. Some critics think that he wrote in Syria; others, in Asia Minor in the neighborhood of Ephesus; others, in Egypt.

5. The Apocrypha of the New Testament — The Gospels[3]

The authors of the New Testament Apocrypha are naturally Christians. From the point of view of form, these writings, like the canonical New Testament literature, comprise Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles and Apocalypses. From the point of view of origin and tendency, we may divide them into two distinct groups. The first group is of heretical and particularly of Gnostic origin and purposes to inculcate a very definite doctrinal error, namely, that Jesus Christ and His Apostles gave out teachings contrary to those of the Church. The second is of orthodox origin and written with the intention of edifying; hence details of the lives of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles and St. Joseph, which are lacking in the official writings, are added in these compositions.

Whatever may have been their origin, these Apocrypha have two traits in common. The first is the weirdness and strangeness of their accounts, in which uncalled-for wonders and miracles are scattered profusely. The various actors move about in an unreal world where the marvelous is the rule. The second is the variance of their texts. As these books were not consecrated by the authority of the Church, but were widely circulated, people modified them and added to them to suit their own tastes. This accounts for the many recensions of the same work — new ones are still being found[4] and also renders it very difficult, nay impossible, to determine the origin and date of these writings.. It is not always easy to distinguish between the primitive work and later alterations. Again, many of these Apocrypha, [64] heretical in the beginning, were afterwards corrected and purged of their heresies and have come down to us only in the latter form.

1. *The Gospel of the Hebrews*. Some of the Apocryphal Gospels bear the name of an author, others are anonymous. Among the latter we must mention, first, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον) , spoken of by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and probably known also to Hegesippus and St. Ignatius of Antioch. Unfortunately, their citations lack precision; they prevent us especially from seeing the relation of this Gospel with the "Gospel of the

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[1] On these apocrypha, see E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 4 edit, vol. III.

[2] Text published by J. Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge, 1909, 1911. See J. Labourt and P. Batiffol, *Les Odes de Salomon*, traduction française et introduction historique, Paris, 1911; Tondelli, *Le Odi di Salomone*, Rome, 1914.

[3] Concerning all this literature, see O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Liter*., I, 2nd ed., p. 498-622. On the Gospels: J. Variot, *Les Evangties Apocryphes, Histoire Littéraire*, etc., Paris, 1878. Usually the texts may be found in Hilgenfeld. *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1884; E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, Giessen, 1901; C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha, ed. altera*, 1876. French transl. in G. Brunei, *Les Evangiles Apocryphes*, Paris, 2nd ed., 1863, and in *Textes et Documents* (V).

[4] This remark applies also, in a certain degree, to the apocrypha of the Old Testament.

Ebionites," cited by St. Epiphanius.[1] It seems safe, however, to treat these two Gospels as two distinct compositions. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was in use among that orthodox portion of Judeo-Christians called the Nazaraeans. It was written in Aramaic, with square characters, and closely follows the canonical narrative of St. Matthew. The quotation by Clement of Alexandria is a proof that this apocryphal gospel was composed in the middle of the second century at the latest. If, however, as St. Jerome affirms, it was cited by St. Ignatius in his Letter to the people of Smyrna (iii, 2), it would date at least from the end of the first century, as Harnack thinks it does.

2. *The Gospel of the Ebionites* was in use among the heretical Judeo-Christians, for the quotations by St. Epiphanius prove that it contains their heretical teachings. According to Bardenhewer, it was a compilation from the canonical Gospels and is identical with the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, marked out as heretical by Origen.[2] It was written in Greek at the end of the second or in the beginning of the third century.

3. *The Gospel of the Egyptians*. Clement of Alexandria[3] cites a *Gospel according to the Egyptians* (τὸ καθ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον), known also to Origen, St. Hippolytus, and St. Epiphanius, who all regarded it as a heretical work. It condemns matrimony and upholds Sabellianism and metempsychosis. Several critics have exaggerated the importance of this work. It was probably written in Egypt, towards the end of the second century. The date of its composition [65] would have to be placed much earlier if it were certain that it is quoted in the *Secunda Clementis* (xii, 2).

4. *The Gospel of Peter*.[4] Until 1886, the *Gospel of Peter* was known to us only through the fragment of a letter of Serapion of Antioch cited by Eusebius.[5] Since that date, a large fragment, including the history of the Passion and Resurrection, was recovered, in 1892, and published. Serapion characterized this Gospel by saying that, as a whole, it was conformable to the teaching of the Savior, but of Docetic tendencies. This is precisely the impression made upon one who reads what we possess of the work. The author made use of the three synoptic Gospels and probably also of the Gospel of St. John, and may have composed his book at Antioch towards the middle of the second century. Harnack believes that the work was known to St. Justin,[6] and therefore places its composition in 110-130.

5. *The Gospels of Mathias, Philip, and Thomas* form a trilogy of Gnostic origin, for these three Apostles are represented in the *Pistis Sophia* as being the three privileged witnesses chosen by Jesus Christ after His resurrection. (*1*) The *Gospel of Mathias* we know only by its title; very probably it should be distinguished from the *Traditions of Mathias*, cited by Clement of Alexandria,[7] and especially favored by the Basilidians. It was composed in Egypt, no later than the beginning of the third century. The *Traditions*, on the contrary, date back to 110-130. (*2*) The *Gospel of Philip* was in use among the "Gnostics" in Egypt. St. Epiphanius[8] has given us a quotation which sufficiently marks it out as heterodox. It was probably written towards the end of the second or at the beginning of the third century, (*3*) The *Gospel of Thomas* was found cited in a Naassenian work by St. Hippolytus,[9] and he has even preserved for us one sentence from it. St. Irenaeus had probably known the work before him,[10] which means that it was written in the middle of the second century.

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[1] *Haer.*, xxx, 13-16, 22.

[2] *In Lucam*, Homil., 1.

[3] *Strom.*, iii, 9; 13.

[4] See J. B. Semeria, *L'Évangile de Pierre*, in the *Revue Biblique*, III (1894), 522-560.

[5] *H. E.*, vi, 12, 2-6.

[6] *I Apol.*, xxxv, 6: *Dial.*, xcvii, 3.

[7] *Strom.*, ii, 9; iii, 4; vii, 13.

[8] *Haer.*, xxvi, 13.

[9] *Philos.*, v. 7.

[10] *Adv. Haer.*, i, 20, 1.

6. We no longer have the Gnostic "Gospel of Thomas," [66] but we have a compilation in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Slavonic which is, to all appearances, derived from the original work and which may be a much expurgated original copy. These forms are entitled *Statements of Thomas, Jewish Philosopher, upon the Infancy of the Lord* (Θωμᾶ ἰσραηλίτου φιλοσόφου ῥητὰ εἰς τὰ παιδκὰ τοῦ Κυρίου).[1] They relate the miracles performed by the Infant Jesus from His fifth to His twelfth year. These miracles do not always agree with the character of the Divine Child and the Gnostic color of the original has not completely disappeared from the book in spite of the many transformations it has undergone. In their actual state these writings seem to belong, as a whole, to the fourth or fifth century.

7. The *Protoevangelium Jacobi*[2] is the best known and most popular of the Apocryphal Gospels. There are many Greek manuscripts and versions of it in different languages. The title varies with the manuscripts, but in none is to be found the name "Gospel." The purpose of the book is to give an account of the birth of Mary, her childhood, her betrothal to St. Joseph, the birth of Jesus, the slaughter of the Innocents and the execution of Zacharias in the temple. The author pretends to be James (evidently the Lesser), the brother of the Lord. The Greek text, as it stands, does not seem to date back further than the fourth century. It is supposed to be a composite work, made up of three previous writings: (a) An account of the birth, infancy, and betrothal of Mary (chs. i-xvii, 1), the work of a Judeo-Christian, 130-140; (b) An account given by Joseph of the birth of Jesus Christ and the adoration of the Magi (chs. xvii, 2-xxi), called *Apocryphum Josephi*, written probably in the second century; (c) an account of the slaughter of the Innocents and the execution of Zacharias (chs. xxii-xxiv), called *Apocryphum Zachariae*, the groundwork of which also dates back to the second century.

8. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*. The "Protoevangelium Jacobi" has its Latin counterpart in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, entitled *Liber de Ortu Beatae Mariae et Infantia Salvatoris*,[3] the contents of which are much the same as that of the "Protoevangelium," plus the subject [67] matter of the "Gospel of Thomas." It is a compilation of the fifth century.

9. The *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* and other analogous compositions in Syriac and Armenian belong to a still later period.[4]

10. Besides these Gospels, we know that there once existed a *Gospel of Bartholomew*, a *Gospel of Thaddeus*, mentioned in the decree of Pope Gelasius, and a *Gospel of Judas Iscariot* in use among the Cainites and spoken of by St. Irenaeus (i, 31, 1). Greek, Latin and Coptic fragments have been found of the *Gospel of Bartholomew*.

11. To the literature of the Apocryphal Gospels belong also the accounts concerning Pilate and the descent of Jesus into hell, those about the death of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Joseph.

a) Under the title of *Gospel of Nicodemus* we possess a composition the most ancient recension of which — in Greek — dates back to the first half of the fifth century. The work may be divided into three parts, which in the beginning probably formed two, or even three, distinct writings. The first part (chs. 1-11) relates to the interrogatory of Jesus before Pilate, His death and burial. It intends to show that Pilate was convinced of the innocence of Our Lord. The special title, *Acta Pilati*, is given to this part. St. Epiphanius[5] was acquainted with some acts of this kind from which the *Acta Pilati* must be derived. It is even possible that Tertullian knew of a supposed report of Pilate to Tiberius, the apologetical purpose of which was the same.[6] The nucleus of the *Acta Pilati* would then date back to the second century. The second part (chs. 12-16) relates the discussions which took place in the Sanhedrin after the resurrection of Christ. Its purpose is

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1 Edit. C. Michel, *Textes et Documents: Évangiles Apocryphes*, I, Paris, 1911.

2 Edit. C. Michel, *loc. cit*.

3 Edit. C. Michel, *loc. cit*.

4 Edit. P. Peeters, in *Textes et Documents: Évangiles Apocryphes*, II, Paris, 1914.

5 *Haer*., 1, 1.

6 *Apologeticum*, 21.

to prove that the leaders of the Jews themselves must have admitted the truth of His resurrection. The third part (chs. 17-27), which was certainly once an independent treatise, relates the descent of Jesus into hell and the deliverance of the just of the Old Law. The action and brilliancy of style of this part are remarkable.

b) The title of *Dormition of Mary* (*Transitus Mariae*, Κοίμησις τῆς Μαρίας) [68] is given to an account of the death of the Blessed Virgin, the most ancient recensions of which are the Greek recension and the two Syriac recensions, B and C. The book narrates how Mary died in Jerusalem, surrounded by the Apostles, and how her body was carried up into heaven. The story contains very ancient elements, but the actual form of the work supposes that the cultus of the Blessed Virgin was already well developed in the Church. It is the general belief that this work does not date earlier than the fourth or fifth century.

c) The *History of Joseph the Carpenter*,[1] which exists in two recensions — one Coptic, the other Arabic — contains an account, supposedly by Jesus Himself, of the life and more especially the death of St. Joseph. The author seems to have borrowed from local traditions as well as from the "Gospel of Thomas." The purpose of the book is well indicated in ch. 30: — it was intended to furnish matter for liturgical readings for the Feast of St. Joseph, celebrated on the 26th of the month of Epiphi, *i.e.*, July 20. The original Greek text from which the recensions were made dates back, at most, to the fourth century. It is probably even more recent.

6. Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles[2]

The imagination of certain writers has, perhaps, thrown off restraint more in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles than in the apocryphal Gospels. Indeed, they were allowed much more freedom in this by the official text of the canonical Acts, which does not mention the fate of the Twelve, with the exception of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James, nor relate the last years of the ministry of the two great apostles.

1. Concerning St. Peter, we have first a *Preaching of Peter* (Πέτρου κήρυγμα), known to Clement of Alexandria, Heracleon the Gnostic, Origen, and Eusebius. The work must probably be identified with the *Preaching of Peter* (Πέτρου διδασκαλία), [69] cited by John of Damascus. It comprises a series of missionary discourses of the Apostle, together with a connecting narrative. There is nothing to prove that it was a heretical writing. It was composed in the first half of the second century, either in Egypt or in Greece.

2. The *Acts of Peter* (Πράξεις Πέτρου),[3] on the contrary, are plainly Gnostic. Two parts of this work are extant, namely,

a) The conclusion of the work in the Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, of which the *Martyrium Beati Petri Apostoli a Lino Apostolo Conscriptum* is only an enlarged Latin version; and

b) The episode of the triumph of St. Peter over Simon Magus in the *Actus Petri cum Simone* of the manuscript of Vercelli. In this work are to be found the details concerning the fall of Simon Magus, the "Quo Vadis" and the crucifixion of the Apostle, head downwards. Although various corrections have been introduced into the actual text, it still bears traces of Docetism and Encratism. The original composition must have dated back to the second half of the second century. Pope Innocent I[4] declared that the author was identical with the author of the Gnostic "Acts of John," *i.e.*, Pseudo-Lucius (the Lucius Charinus spoken of by Photius).

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[1] Edit. P. Peeters, *l. cit.*, note 16.

[2] The texts are usually to be found in C. Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Lipsiae, 1851 and especially in R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 3 vol., Lipsiae, 1891, 1898, 1903. The classical work on the subject is that of R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig, 1883-1890.

[3] J. Flamion, *Les Actes Apocryphes de Pierre*, in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, IX-XII (1908-1911).

[4] *Epist. ad Exsuperium*, 13.

3. Just as there was a "Preaching of Peter," so there was a *Preaching of Paul*. It is mentioned in the *Liber de Rebaptismate* (17), which was written in the time of St. Cyprian. The work does not appear to be orthodox; however, we lack information concerning it.

4. Quite different has been the fate of the *Acts of Paul* (Πράξεις Παύλου), which is said to have contained 3560 or 3600 lines. These *Acts* have been recently found in a Coptic version,[1] although the manuscript is in bad condition. This discovery has enabled us to ascertain that the original text comprised the *Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Paul*, the *Correspondence of St. Paul and the Corinthians* (apocryphal), [70] and the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, which at a later date took on an independent form. But since Tertullian affirms[2] that the story of Paul and Thecla was composed in Asia by a priest who was very enthusiastic about St. Paul, and who was deposed for his writing, it is likely that the entire *Acts of Paul* are the work of the same author and were composed in Asia. They were orthodox in the beginning. Certain details warrant our fixing the date of their composition c. 170.

5. Besides the "Acts of Peter" and the "Acts of Paul," we have, in revised texts, a composition entitled *Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul* (Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου). Originally these acts comprised an account of the journey of St. Paul to Rome, where St. Peter was already residing, and an account of the labors of the two Apostles and their martyrdom. This is the order followed by a whole series of manuscripts. Like the "Acts of Paul," this work is an orthodox composition, which the author wished, perhaps, to substitute for the Gnostic "Acts of Peter." According to Bardenhewer, they date from the first half of the third century.

6. The *Acts of the Apostle Andrew*, probably from the second half of the second century, are mentioned by Eusebius[3] and other ancient writers, who regard them as heretical. Some critics attribute them to Pseudo-Lucius. Only a few short citations from this work have been preserved, but we have in Greek, and in expurgated and revised texts in other languages, three principal episodes of the story which form the subject matter for three separate writings: the *Acts of Andrew and Mathias in the town of the Anthropophagi*, the *Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Andrew* and the *Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Andrew*.[4] The latter pretends to be the work of eye-witnesses, priests and deacons of the Churches of Achaia. In reality, it is not older than the fifth century.

7. The same authors who speak of the "Acts of Andrew" mention also *Acts of John*, of heretical origin. Innocent I attributed them to Pseudo-Lucius. These *Acts*, probably composed, as those of Andrew, in the second half of the second century, [71] are now almost entirely lost. A fair number of fragments have reached us through citations and other manuscripts and have enabled us to reconstruct approximately the order of the narrative. To accomplish this work, orthodox recensions of a later period have been used, which have more or less retouched and corrected the original copy. Such are, in Greek, the *Acts of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian*, written by his disciple Prochoros (first half of the fifth century), and, in Latin, the *Virtutes Joannis*, written by Pseudo-Abdias (end of the sixth century), and the *Passio Joannis*, written by Pseudo-Melito (still more recent).

8. The *Acts of the Apostle Thomas* have been preserved better than all the Gnostic Acts of the Apostles, We have not, it is true, the original; but two recensions in Greek and Syriac have reached us, and they preserve both the spirit and form of the work.[5] The whole clearly shows Encratic tendencies. Some poetical pieces written originally in Syriac and inserted here and there, form an integral part of the treatise and have

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[1] Edit. C. SCHMIDT, *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelb. kopt. Papyrus-handschr. herausgeg.*, Leipzig, 1904; and L. VOUAUX, *Les Actes de Paul et ses Lettres Apocryphes*, Introd., texts, transl. and commentary, Paris, 1913.

[2] *De Baptismo*, 17.

[3] *H. E.* iii. 25, 6.

[4] See J. FLAMION, *Les Actes Apocryphes de I apôtre André, les Actes d'André et de Mathias, de Pierre et d'André, et les Textes Apparentés*, Louvain, 1911.

[5] Greek in LIPSIUS and BONNET; Syriac text in W. WRIGHT, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871.

led the majority of critics to conclude that the entire work was written first in that language. It may have been originally composed at Edessa by some disciple of Bardesanes. Everything indicates that it was written in the beginning of the third century.

9. The *Acts of Philip* (apocryphal) are first mentioned in a decretal of Pope Gelasius. We possess these *Acts* in two forms, both of orthodox origin, but of small value. In them there is a confusion of Philip the Apostle with Philip the Deacon. The Greek acts are incomplete and seem to have been compiled from two independent writings; they do not date beyond the end of the fourth century. The Syriac acts seem still more recent.

10. The *Acts of Matthew* are not mentioned by any ancient author; yet such a work must have existed, since we have in Greek the conclusion, which is an account of the ministry of the Apostle and his martyrdom at Myrne. The author of these Acts was acquainted with the "Acts of Mathias," which were, perhaps, called "Acts of Mathias" by mistake instead of "Acts of Matthew."

11. The *Acts of Thaddaeus*, who was one of the seventy-two disciples, [72] were known to Eusebius, who analysed them partly and copied out a few extracts, notably those referring to the famous correspondence between King Abgar of Edessa and Jesus. These *Acts*, called the *Acta Edessena*, were written first in Syriac and may date back to the first half of the third century. We possess, under the title of *Doctrina Addaei*, a Syriac recension of the work, which is much more elaborate and may be dated from 390-430.[1] The Greek recension edited by Tischendorf is shorter and has substituted the Apostle Thaddaeus or Lebbaeus for the disciple Addaeus or Thaddaeus. The work is not older than the fifth century.

7. Apocryphal Epistles

Apart from the Epistles mentioned in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, of which they form a part, there remain only a very small number of Apocryphal Epistles. The reason for this is simple. Epistolary literature is one in which the imagination finds little field for exercise and to which it is much harder to give an authentic ring.

1. Fragments, still partly unpublished, of an *Epistle of the Apostles*, have recently been discovered in Coptic and Latin. This Epistle recounts the resurrection of Our Lord and the deliverance of St. Peter. Harnack fixes the date of its composition between 150 and 180.

2. We have an *Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans*,[2] written evidently for the purpose of answering a passage in the "Epistle to the Colossians" (iv, 16). The most ancient text extant is in Latin. Both the matter and the form of this composition are mediocre; very probably it has nothing in common with the "Epistle to the Laodiceans" mentioned by the Muratorian Fragment. There is no sure witness of it before the fifth century.

3. The same Muratorian Fragment mentions an *Epistle of St. Paul to the Alexandrians*, forged by the Marcionites. All trace of this work has been lost.

4. We have, however, a *Letter of the Corinthians to St. Paul* and a (third) *Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, which originally formed part of the "Acts of Paul" and, [73] like it, were written in Greek. They remain only in Latin and in one Armenian translation.[3] The contents of these letters may be summed up as follows: The Corinthians make known to Paul that Gnostic doctrines are creeping in among them. St. Paul answers, insisting strongly on the doctrine which he had preached to them. These letters have been held in great esteem by the churches of Syria and Armenia. Like the "Acts of Paul," they date from c. 170.

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[1] See J. Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse et la Légende d'Abgar*, Paris, 1888.

[2] Text in Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentl. Kanons*, II, 2, Erlangen, 1892.

[3] A. Carrière and S. Berger, *La Correspondene Apocryphe de Saint Paul et des Corinthiens*, Paris, 1891.

5. As to the fourteen Latin letters between Seneca and St. Paul (eight letters of Seneca, six of St. Paul), which have been preserved,[1] it is certain that they are not genuine and are the work of a very mediocre author. The poverty of thought, rough diction, and unpolished style are striking. Are they the same as those mentioned by St. Jerome in *De Viribus Illustribus* (12)? Most critics admit it and consequently fix the date of their composition about 360-380, at the latest; others think they are more recent. In any case, they are based on the belief that relations once existed between St. Paul and Seneca, the truth of which is in nowise proved. Seneca may have heard about the Christians, but he certainly never borrowed anything from their doctrines.

8. APOCRYPHAL APOCALYPSES

1. The *Apocalypse of Peter*, about half of which has been found in a manucsript of Akhmin, is mentioned in the Canon of Muratori and cited and even commented upon by Clement of Alexandria.[2] The fragment contains two visions, one of heaven, the other of hell. The work enjoyed great popularity in many churches. It must have been composed at the latest in the middle of the second century.

An Apocalypse of Peter by Clement,[3] a more lengthy work extant in Ethiopic and Arabic, is not older than the VIIth or VIIIth century. [74]

2. The passage of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians (xii, 2 ff.) relating to his being rapt into the third heaven, and the mysterious words he heard there, was a natural inducement for some author to reveal these wonders. St. Epiphanius[4] mentions an *Assumption of Paul* (Ἀναβατικὸν Παύλου) of the second or third century, used by the Gnostics. We know nothing more about this book. But there does exist in Greek, Latin, Syriac and other recensions (the Latin is the best), an *Apocalypse of Paul* which enjoyed great vogue.[5] The Apostle is represented as visiting successively the dwelling-place of the elect, that of the damned, and the Garden of Eden. The work is orthodox and states in the introduction that it was discovered during the reign of Theodosius (379-395) beneath the house in which St. Paul lived at Tarsus, and was sent by that prince to Jerusalem. Traces of it first appear in Tractate xcviii, 8, of St. Augustine on St. John (c. 416); consequently, it dates from the end of the fourth century and was written in the neighborhood of Jerusalem.

3. Besides the "Apocalypse of Paul," the decretal of Pope Gelasius mentions an *Apocalypse of Thomas* and an *Apocalypse of Stephen*. Nothing is known of this latter work; perhaps it has been confounded with a document of the fifth century on the finding of the relics of St. Stephen. The *Apocalypse of Thomas,* a very short work, has recently been found in Latin and seems to be of the fourth century and of Manichean provenance.[6]

4. The *Apocalypse of Zacharias*, mentioned by the catalogues of Biblical apocrypha, may refer to the Old or to the New Testament. Not having the text, we do not know whether the Zacharias referred to is the prophet or the father of St. John the Baptist.

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[1] See CH. AUBERTIN, *Étude Critique sur les Rapports supposés entre Sénèque et S. Paul*, Paris, 1857; *Sénèque et S. Paul*, Paris, 1869; G. BOISSIER, *La Religion Romaine d'Auguste aux Autonins*, tome II.

[2] Text in V. GEBHARDT, *Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus*, Leipzig, 1893.

[3] Edit. and transl. by S. GRÉBAUT in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien,* 1907-1912.

[4] *Haer*., xxxviii, 2.

[5] Greek in TISCHENDORF, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, Lipsiae, 1866. Latin in M. RH. JAMES, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, Cambridge, 1893. (*Texts and Studies*, II, 3.)

[6] P. BIHLMEYER, *Un Texte non Interpolé de l'Apocalypse de Thomas, Revue Bénédictine*, xxviii (1911), 270-282.

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SECTION IV

THE OPPONENTS OF HERESY IN THE SECOND CENTURY

1. THE ANTI-GNOSTIC WRITERS — HEGESIPPUS

We have seen that most of the Gnostic writings have perished. The same is true of the answers which they called forth. As they were mostly occasional writings, once the heresy abated, people ceased to read and copy them, so that many of them disappeared with the danger which had occasioned them.

To this class belong the writings mentioned above, namely those of Justin against heresy in general and against Marcion in particular, and those of Theophilus of Antioch against Marcion and against Hermogenes. To these may be added the works of the Apologist MILTIADES,[1] the treatise of AGRIPPA CASTOR, who wrote against Basilides in the reign of Hadrian (117-138),[2] and the writings of the Asiatic RHODON, disciple of Tatian, against Marcion, against Apelles, and perhaps also against Tatian himself.[3] Eusebius names besides, among the champions of orthodoxy, PHILIP, bishop of Gortyna in Crete,[4] MODESTUS,[5] and MUSANUS,[6] — all three under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (161-192), — and HERACLITUS, MAXIMUS,[7] CANDIDUS, and APION, at the end of the reign of Commodus and under Septimus Severus. The last two wrote on the Hexaëmeron. Eusebius also mentions a work of SEXTUS on the Resurrection and another of ARABIANUS on some other subject. He then adds that there existed a multitude of other writers whose date, works and names he could not indicate in detail, [76] as many of the writing were anonymous. It is surprising he does not speak of one of his predecessors, ZACHAEUS, bishop of Caesarea, mentioned by the *Praedestinatus* as having written, towards the end of the second century, against the Valentinians.

Side by side with these polemists, who are scarcely known to us, and whose works were not copied, there are some whose memory has been better preserved or whose names have even remained famous in the Church. Such are, in the second century, Hegesippus and St. Irenaeus.

Very little is known of HEGESIPPUS.[8] Probably he was a Palestinian Jew, born c. 110, and later converted to Christianity. Under Pope Anicetus (155-166) he undertook a journey throughout Christendom, which led him to Corinth and later to Rome. The purpose of this trip was to collect on the spot the teachings of the various churches which he visited, and to ascertain their uniformity with Rome. He determined in this city the list of the succession of bishops down to Anicetus. On his return to his native land he composed, during the pontificate of Pope Eleutherius (174-189), the work of which we are about to speak. According to the *Paschal Chronicle*, he died c. 180.

The work of Hegesippus bears the title of Memoirs (Ὑπομνήματα). It comprised five books, but is almost entirely lost. We are able, however, to form some idea of the work with the aid of indications and citations furnished by Eusebius. It was not, as St. Jerome would have it, a coherent history of the Church from the passion of our Lord until the middle of the second century, but rather a polemical treatise against the Gnostics, setting forth the facts and the evidence for the truth of the Church's official teaching. Eusebius does not hesitate to rank Hegesippus among the defenders of tradition.[9] "He has narrated," he says, "in a

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[1] Tertullian, *Adv. Valentinianos*, 5.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 7, 6-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, v, 13.

[4] iv, 21; 23, 5; 25.

[5] iv, 25; cf. 21.

[6] iv, 28; cf. 21.

[7] Maximus is perhaps a fictitious personage, due to some mistake of Eusebius.

[8] See H. DANNREUTHER, *Du témoignage d'Hégésippe sur l'Eglise Chrétienne aux deux Premiers Siècles*, Nancy, 1878.

[9] *H. E.*, iv, 21; 22, 1.

very simple way the infallible tradition of the Apostolic teaching."[1] This is the reason why Hegesippus was so interested in the traditions of the churches and in the succession of the bishops who guaranteed their integrity.

Hegesippus does not seem to have been a very learned man nor a very able writer. His Greek is awkward and [77] he lacked critical acumen; but he was an attentive observer and a sincere witness, highly esteemed by Eusebius.

2. St. Irenaeus[2]

St. Irenaeus was born in or near Smyrna c. 135-140. Polycarp was then bishop of that city, and from his childhood Irenaeus listened to his discourses and received his instructions. The profound impression made upon his mind proves that he was, if not a disciple, at least an assiduous and thoughtful listener of the aged Bishop, and he loved to appeal later on to his authority. Polycarp was not his only master, for Irenaeus often mentions Asiatic presbyters with whom he had conversed and whose teachings he relates.

We do not know the circumstances which led Irenaeus to leave Asia and go to Gaul, nor do we know when this transfer took place. What we have said only proves that at this time he had reached the age of manhood and his intellectual and religious formation was already completed. In 177 we find him in Lyons, as a priest in the church of which St. Pothinus was bishop. Afterwards, he was delegated by the martyrs of Lyons, most of whom were still in prison, to carry to Pope Eleutherius a letter concerning the Montanistic troubles. He was furnished with a letter of recommendation, in which the martyrs styled him "one zealous for the Testament of Christ." It was perhaps owing to this journey that Irenaeus escaped the fury of the persecutors. In 177 or 178 he was made bishop of Lyons, succeeding St. Pothinus. Three circumstances relative to his activities as a bishop are known: he combatted the Gnostics, he labored in the evangelization of the country about Lyons, he interceded (c. 190-191) with Pope Victor I in the question of the Paschal observance, in order to preserve peace between the Church of Rome and the churches of Asia. It is commonly thought that he died in 202-203. The Church honors him as a martyr. St. Jerome is the first to give him this title in his commentary on Isaias, written between 408-410, and this is astonishing. However, the silence of ancient authors may be explained by the small notice which would [78] be taken of the violent death of Irenaeus if he had been put to death under Septimus Severus in the general massacre of the Christians of Lyons.

Two complete works of St. Irenaeus have been preserved together with a few fragments of other writings that have disappeared. The first of these complete works is the treatise *Adversus Haereses*, whose proper title is *The Detection and Overthrow of the Pretended but False Gnosis* (Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ πῆς ψευδωνόμου γνώσεως). The greater part of the original Greek text is lost; but there exists a contemporary Latin version, which is, happily, literal to a fault, and also fragments of an Armenian and some Syriac translations. Of its five books, the first two were written and sent to their addressee first; then the third and fourth, and finally the fifth. In the third, Eleutherius is designated as "Bishop of Rome" (iii, 3, 3), and the Church is spoken of as enjoy ing peace, whence we conclude that the first three books were written between 180 and 189. The two other books may be more recent, *i.e.* written under the pontificate of Victor I (189-198), but it is equally probable that they were composed at some earlier date, before the death of Eleutherius.

Irenaeus wrote the *Adversus Haereses* at the request of a friend, perhaps a bishop, who desired an exposition of the errors of heretics with which he was not well acquainted. The author originally intended the work to be very short, but it seems to have grown larger as he wrote. The first book is devoted to the detection (ἔλεγχος) or exposure of the errors of the different Gnostic sects. The Bishop of Lyons seems to have in view particularly the system of Ptolemaeus. He then passes to the other forms of Valentinianism, and from Valentinianism to the other forms of the Gnosis. The second and fifth books are devoted to a

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[1] *Ibid.*, iv, 8, 2.

[2] Edition by D. Massuet in *P. G.*, VII, or by Harvey, Cambridge, 1857. See Freppel, *Saint Irénée*, Paris, 3rd ed., 1886. A. Dufourcq, *Saint Irénée*, Paris, 1904 (coll. *Les Saints*) and Paris, 1905 (coll. *La Pensée Chrétienne*).

refutation (ἀνατροπή) of these errors. In the second book, dialectics — philosophical arguments — are chiefly resorted to. Irenaeus shows the absurdity of his adversaries and of the arguments they adduce. In the third and most important book he lays special stress on tradition. He argues that the rule of faith is to be found in the teaching of the Apostles, as preserved in its integrity by the Church, and this teaching of the Church and the Apostles contradicts that of the Gnostics. In the fourth book, the argument is confirmed "by the words of Jesus Christ" (*per Domini sermones*), [79] among which he includes also the teachings of the Old Testament, since it was always the Divine Logos who spoke through the sacred writers. In this book, Irenaeus proves the identity of origin of both Testaments against the Marcionites. No new arguments are used in the fifth book, but Irenaeus deals more especially with the question of our last end, which is neglected in the previous books. The work ends with a few lines on the harmony of the divine plan in humanity.

From a theological point of view, the *Adversus Haereses* is a work of the first order and goes beyond the needs of the particular question of Gnosticism. It may even be said that, by the principles which he establishes concerning the doctrinal authority of the Church, and of the Church of Rome especially, St. Irenaeus has refuted in advance all future heresies. In his exposition of the Gnostic systems he proves to be sincere and well informed, although he does not always take into account the exact age of his documents. In refutation his dialectic is both strong and flexible. Of a clear and precise mind, he was never overawed by the pretentious abstractions of his opponents and even took a malicious pleasure in exposing their follies. His style is simple and easy and appears diffuse and awkward in the Latin translation only because the latter is literal to a fault. In the introduction to his work (i, *Pref.*, 3), the Bishop of Lyons expresses the fear that his habit of speaking Celtic may influence his Greek style. This fear seems to have been groundless.

The second treatise of St. Irenaeus, entirely preserved, is the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* (Ἐπίδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος), discovered recently in a literal Armenian translation of the seventh or eighth century.[1] The work was composed after the *Adversus Haereses* and was addressed to a friend, whom the author calls Marcian. It contains, first, an exposition of the principal Christian dogmas; secondly, a demonstration of the truth of these dogmas from the prophecies. It was meant to be a small [80] apology to be placed in the hands of the faithful. St. Irenaeus does not go beyond the ideas he has developed in the *Adversus Haereses*.

Among the fragmentary writings of the Bishop of Lyons must first be mentioned a Letter to Florinus, *On the Monarchy of God or that God is not the Author of Evil*. Florinus had received the teaching of Polycarp with Irenaeus in Asia but later had joined the Gnostics. In a fragment, which has been preserved, Irenaeus recalls to his mind the teachings of their common master.[2]

The heresy of this same Florinus gave rise to another treatise of St. Irenaeus, *On the Ogdoad*, and perhaps to the letter to Pope Victor, of which a fragment is preserved. Eusebius quotes the final clause of the treatise *On the Ogdoad*.[3]

Eusebius mentions also a letter to Blastus, *On Schism;*[4] a brief and very useful work against the Greeks (pagans), entitled *On Science;*[5] a book of miscellaneous discourses;[6] and lastly some letters to Pope Victor and other bishops on the Paschal question.[7] Five citations are preserved of the *Discourses on Faith to*

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[1] Edition K. TER-MEKERTTSCHIAN and E. TER-MINASSIANTZ, *Des hl. Irenaeus Schrift "Zum Erweise der apostolischen Verkündigung"* (*Texte und Unters.*, XXXI, 1), Leipzig, 1007. French transl. by J. BARTHOULOT, *Saint Irénée, Démonstration de la Prédication Apostolique*, introduction and notes by J. TIXERONT, Paris, 1917 (Reprint from *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1916, n^{os} 5-6).

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 20, 4-7.

[3] *H. E.*, v, 20, 1, 2.

[4] *H. E.*, v, 20, 1; cf. v, 15.

[5] v. 26; probably an apology.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *H. E.*, v, 23, 3; 24, 11-18.

Demetrius, Deacon of Vienne, but their authenticity is doubtful. The four Greek remains, known as the Pfaffian Fragments,[1] are spurious.

3. ANTI-MONTANISTIC AND OTHER WRITERS

Montanism, like Gnosticism, found in the Church, and especially among the bishops, ardent opponents, who fought it by word of mouth and in writing, but whose works have disappeared, or are known to us only through a few citations. Such are the work of APOLLINARIS, bishop of Hierapolis between 170 and 175,[2] and that of the apologist MILTIADES, *That a Prophet must not Speak when in Ecstacy*,[3] both of which are lost. On the other hand, Eusebius made several excerpts from the work of an *anonymous writer*, bishop or priest, of Eastern Phrygia, not far from Ortrys, [81] published c. 192-193.[4] This treatise, in three books, was dedicated to a certain Avircius Marcellus, whom we shall mention again later.

Other writers against Montanism are the Asiatic APOLLONIUS, c. 196-197, cited by Eusebius,[5] and, in the reign of Zephyrinus (199-217), the Roman priest CAIUS, who denied that the Apostle John was the author of the Apocalypse, and even of the fourth Gospel, in order to deprive the heretics of one of their main arguments.[6]

Other refutations, more or less direct, might be pointed out. Nothing prevents us, either, from ranking among the anti-Montanistic writers a few authors of the end of the second century who busied themselves in the condemnation of heresy. They are:

POPE VICTOR (189-199), who dealt vigorously in Rome with the Montanists, with those who retained the quartodeciman customs, and with the Adoptianists. According to St. Jerome,[7] he wrote some theological treatises and is to be considered, with Apollonius, as the first Latin ecclesiastical writer, even before Tertullian.[8] We are at a loss to know what exact interpretation is to be placed on this information.

Three bishops deserve our attention in the East.

The first is DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH (c. 170), who was one of the most frequently consulted men of his time, Eusebius was acquainted with eight letters of Dionysius and has briefly indicated their contents. The first six are addressed to various communities; the seventh, to Pope Soter, and the eighth, to a Christian lady named Chrysophora. Eusebius cites passages from the letter to Pope Soter.

After Dionysius we must name SERAPION OF ANTIOCH (191-212). Eusebius admits that he probably does not know all of Serapion's works.[9] He mentions, however, certain writings *To Domnus*, who had fallen away from the Christian faith and become a Jew; *To Pontius and to Caricus*, and various letters, especially one to the Christians [82] of Rhossus, *On the Gospel Attributed to Peter*, warning them not to read it.

The most famous of the three bishops, and the one whose literary title is best established, is MELITO, bishop of Sardis in Lydia. Very little is known of his life. He was well known already under Antoninus Pius (138-161) and reached the apogee of his fame under Marcus Aurelius (161-180). Eusebius has given us the titles of about twenty of his works, among which are two books *On Easter*, others *On the Church, On Sunday, On Baptism, On Prophecy, On the Apocalypse of John, On the Corporeity of God*, etc., and a book

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[1] From their editor, Chr. M. Pfaff.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 16, 1; 19, 1 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 17, 1.

[4] *H. E.*, v, 16-17.

[5] *H. E.*, v, 18.

[6] *H. E.*, vi, 20; cf. ii, 25, 6, 7; iii, 28, 1, 2; 31, 4. See P. DE LABRIOLLE, *La Crise Montaniste*, p. 278 ff.

[7] *De Vir. Ill.*, 53.

[8] *Ibid.*, 34.

[9] *H. E.*, vi, 12.

entitled *The Key*. Anastasius Sinaita[1] mentions two more, *On the Passion* (of our Lord) and *On the Incarnation of Christ*. Besides the citations of Eusebius and Anastasius, there remain of all these works only a few Greek and Syriac fragments, and even their authenticity is not always sure.[2] This is all the more to be regretted as it seems that Melito was representative of the Asiatic school, to which he belonged.

Two other documents must be named to make this section more complete: a) The Letter of POLYCRATUS, bishop of Edessa, to Pope Victor (c. 190), in which he vindicates for the churches of Asia the right to follow their own tradition in the celebration of the feast of Easter;[3] and b) The inscription of ABERCIUS.[4] Prof. Ramsay in 1883 discovered a large part of the text of this inscription, together with the funerary cippus which bore it. It is the self-written epitaph, in twenty-two verses, of a certain Abercius, a citizen of Hierapolis in Phrygia. Abercius, in language of simple allegory, declares himself a disciple of the Good Shepherd, speaks of his journeys to Rome and Syria, and mentions Baptism and the Eucharist. The inscription is certainly Christian and dates from the end of the second century. Abercius is probably the Avircius Marcellus, to whom the anonymous anti-Montanist, mentioned above, had dedicated his work. Msgr. Duchesne thinks he was bishop of Hierapolis.

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[1] *Hodegos*, xii, xiii.

[2] See OTTO, *Corpus Apologetarum*, ix, p. 374 ff., 497 ff.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 24, 1-8; iii, 31, 2, 3.

[4] See J. WILPERT, *Fractio Panis*, Paris, 1896, p. 95 ff. *Dictionnaire d'Apologétique*, "ÉPIGRAPHIE," p. 1435 ff.

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SECTION V

THE ORIENTAL WRITERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY

Until the end of the second century, the Eastern and Western Churches were both unmistakably characterized, the first by its speculative and philosophical tendencies, the second by its practical tastes and genius; and yet this difference was not nearly so pronounced as it became later. This was owing perhaps to the fact that, until then, the different authors had been mingled with one another. St. Justin, Tatian, and St. Irenaeus, for example, were Western churchmen, who had come from the East. In the third century two new factors came into play. One was the development of theological speculation under the impulse of Clement and Origen, a first step towards a more marked distinction. The other and concurrent factor was the adoption of Latin as the official language of the Western Church, and this rendered the distinction manifest. Henceforth, then, we shall have to deal separately with the Eastern and the Latin writers, for neither are their purposes altogether the same nor, though they have but one faith, are the languages of this faith identical.

Furthermore, the center of influence we have been acquainted with thus far, began at this time to change even in the Eastern Church. In the first and second centuries the only important churches were those of Syria and Asia Minor,— Antioch, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Ephesus, Hierapolis, etc. Asia produced in the second century the most numerous and the most distinguished writers, among them Papias, Polycarp, Apollinaris, Apollonius, Melito, and Irenaeus. But at the end of this century a church suddenly sprang up which pushed itself almost immediately to the first rank,— the Church of Alexandria, who maintained her precedence for more than a hundred and fifty years. Before speaking of the writers of Syria and Asia Minor, therefore, we will treat those of Alexandria and Egypt. [84]

1. ALEXANDRIANS AND EGYPTIANS — CLEMENT[1]

According to a tradition cited by Eusebius,[2] St. Mark is the founder of the Church of Alexandria. Between St. Mark and Bishop Demetrius, who governed that church in 221, Julius Africanus counts ten bishops. Valentine, Carpocrates, and Basilides went out from Alexandria to establish their dissident sects, a circumstance which alone implies that, already in the middle of the second century, the intellectual activity there was intense. A catechetical school had been founded there, dependent, to a certain extent, upon the official authority, without being precisely its organ. In this school not only were the elements of faith explained to the catechumens, but a more substantial theological teaching was given to those Christians desirous of learning, and the grounds of Catholic belief were discussed even before pagans. This school must have existed in the early part of the second century, although it does not appear to us before 180, with two of its earliest known presidents, Pantaenus and Clement.

PANTAENUS, "The Sicilian Bee," was the teacher of Clement. He was appointed president of the catechetical school of Alexandria after he had been a missionary. He explained "by word of mouth and in writing the treasures of the Divine Scriptures."[3] Notwithstanding the assertion of Eusebius, it is doubtful whether Pantaenus published any works. The most ancient orthodox writer of Alexandria of whom we can be sure is Clement.

CLEMENT was born probably c. 150 of heathen parentage at Athens. The circumstances of his conversion are not known. It is supposed that he was troubled, like Justin, by the problem of God and, like him, was attracted to Christianity by the nobility and purity of the evangelical doctrines and morals. His conversion, if it had not yet taken place, was at least imminent when he undertook the journeys spoken of in his writings.

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[1] The best edition of his works is that of STAEHLIN, Leipzig, 1905-1909, in the collection of *Christliche Schriftsteller* in Berlin. That of POTTER (1715) is reproduced in the *Patrologia Graeca*, VIII, IX. See FREPPEL, *Clément d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1865. E. DE FAYE, *Clément d'Al.*, 2e edit., Paris, 1906. J. PATRICK, *Clement of Alexandria*, Edinburgh, 1914.

[2] *H. E.*, ii, 16.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v, 10.

He set out from [85] Greece and travelled through southern Italy, Palestine, and finally Egypt, seeking everywhere the society of Christian teachers. Towards 180, he met Pantaenus at Alexandria, and took up his permanent residence in that city. There he was ordained a presbyter and, from being a disciple of Pantaenus, became, in 190, his associate and fellow-teacher.

In 202 or 203, he was forced to suspend his lessons on account of the persecution of Septimius Severus, which closed the Christian school of Alexandria. He withdrew into Cappadocia, residing there with his former disciple, Bishop Alexander. We meet him again in 211, carrying to the Christians of Antioch a letter from Alexander, in which are mentioned the services he, Clement, had rendered in Cappadocia.[1] In 215 or 216, the same Alexander, now bishop of Jerusalem, writes to Origen and speaks of Clement as having gone to his rest. Clement must therefore have died between 211 and 216. Ancient authors speak of him as St. Clement, but his name was not admitted to the Roman Martyrology by Benedict XIV.

Clement was naturally of a broad and noble mind. His character was sympathetic and generous, and he was always eager to help his disciples and readers. His erudition was prodigious; no other ancient writer, not even Origen, knew or cited so many pagan and Christian authors as he. No doubt his was not all first-hand knowledge but obtained largely by reading *florilegia* and miscellaneous collections of extracts. His learning is none the less surprising and, in any case, proves that he had read widely and remembered much of what he had read. Add to this a fluent, agreeable, and florid style, and you will be able to form some idea of Clement's ability as a writer. Unfortunately, these marvellous qualities are disparaged by considerable defects, which render the study of his works fatiguing. He never analyses the subjects he is treating, so as to present them in an orderly manner to the reader. He exposes his subject all at once and, as he never exhausts it, is constantly forced to retrace his steps and make up for omissions. Hence, a tiresome prolixity, aggravated by an excess of digressions and quotations. It is in the *Stromata* especially that this absence of plan and discrimination is felt the most. Again, his style, although fluent and easy, lacks finish and [86] is often incorrect in both Attic grammar and syntax. Clement wrote very fast and cared little for Hellenic elegance of structure. We must remark, however, that many of his defects are less personal ones than defects of his sphere and time. At the end of the IInd century Greek had already lost much of its classical purity.

From a theological point of view, one of the chief aims of Clement was to determine the relations between faith and reason and to show what philosophy has achieved to prepare the world for Christian Revelation and how it must be used in order to transform the data of this revelation into a scientific theology. The solution given by Clement is, on the whole, exact. He is accused of a few errors in the details of his work which are not always proved to be such. It would be surprising if, in so vast and so new a subject, there could be found everywhere the finest discrimination and absolute exactness of expression.

Protrepticus, *Paedagogus*, *Stromata*. Nearly all the extant works of Clement are comprised under these three treatises, which form parts of one complete whole. The author gives the outline of this work in the *Paedagogus*. In the *Protrepticus* he exhorts the pagans to abandon their errors,— then he will convert them (προτρέπων); in the *Paedagogus* he will teach him how to lead an honest Christian life (παιδαγογῶν); finally, in a third work he will instruct him in the dogmas of the Catholic faith and will explain to him the speculative truths of his new religion (ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων). It was therefore a complete theology,— apologetical, moral and dogmatic,— that Clement purposed to write.

The *Protrepticus* (προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας: *Exhortation to the Greeks*), in twelve chapters, is an apology which is connected with similar writings of the second century. The author exposes the worthlessness and untruth of heathen beliefs and the powerlessness of philosophy to furnish men with a sufficient teaching on God and religion. He concludes that the entire truth must be sought from the Prophets and from Jesus Christ. Both the matter and the form of this book are well finished; it has all the merits of a beautiful literary composition.

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[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi, 11, 5-6.

In the *Paedagogus* appear for the first time the defects of Clement. The work is divided into three books. The first commences with a disputation with the false Gnostics. [87] These men regarded themselves as of superior intelligence and treated ordinary Catholics as children (νήπιοι), incapable of reaching perfection. Clement argues that by Baptism we are all the children of Christ, our Teacher, and that Baptism, which is an illumination rendering us capable of seeing God, contains the germ of Christian perfection; the true gnosis, therefore, is nothing more than a development of faith, effected through the educative influence of the Logos. This process, directed by goodness, is as old as the world itself, since the Logos who became incarnate is the same as He who created man and instructed him from the beginning.

The second and third books of the *Paedagogus* deal with practical questions. Clement makes a survey of the various circumstances of our everyday life and, under the guise of a lofty and sprightly chat, scores the current views of his time and gives advice on virtue and even on politeness and hygiene. He develops no special moral theory, but places before his readers a series of realistic illustrations, to which he joins exhortations to do good.

The *Paedagogus* reveals a moralist quite different from the speculative Clement we are generally accustomed to think of. He appears, however, in the latter capacity in the *Stromata*. From what has already been said one would expect to see this last work of Clement's trilogy entitled *The Master* (Ὁ διδάσκαλος) and to find it a treatise on Christian dogma. Instead of that, it is a collection of miscellanies, the full title of which is "Tapestries of Gnostic Memoirs on the True Philosophy." Is this the work announced by Clement? Probably it is, although it represents only rough sketches and preliminary studies.[1] Instead of giving a didactic exposition of Christian doctrine, the author preferred to personify Christian perfection and to offer a living portrait, most lovingly painted, of the true Gnostic, *i.e.*, the perfect Christian. As in the *Paedagogus*, the facts are outstanding, while the theory is kept in the background.

Actually we possess only seven *Stromata* and perhaps enough material for an eighth one. The first proves that it is permissible for a Christian not only to write books, [88] but to study Greek philosophy and, generally, the sciences. The second treats of the relations between faith and Christian gnosis; the third deals with marriage; the fourth speaks of martyrdom and the possibility for every Christian to become a true Gnostic, *i.e.*, a perfect man; the fifth treats of symbols and allegory; the sixth recalls what has been said in the two preceding "stromata" and completes them; the seventh depicts the religious life of the Christian Gnostic. This last is the most interesting and the best written portion of the whole work.

It is certain that the *Protrepticus* was written before the *Paedagogus*, and the latter before the *Stromata*. The *Stromata* are generally regarded as Clement's last work, and the date of their composition is not placed before 202-203 or even 208-211. The *Protrepticus* and the *Paedagogus* may date from 189-200.

After the great trilogy, the most important of Clement's works is the *Hypotyposes* (ὑποτυπώσεις, sketches, outlines). It contained in eight books a commentary on passages chosen from the Old and New Testaments, notably the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles (except the third of St. John), and the Acts of the Apostles. Clement's exegesis is especially allegorical. Photius, who read the work, passed a rather severe judgment upon its theological teaching. Many Greek citations have been preserved and, in Latin, the commentaries on the First Epistle of St. Peter, the First and Second Epistles of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude, gathered together under the single title of *Adumbrationes Clementis Alexandrini in Epistulas Canonicas*.

Besides this great commentary, there is the *Quis dives salvetur?* (Who is the rich man that is saved?). It is a homily on Mark x, 17-31, and is preserved entire. Clement remarks that the spirit of detachment commanded by our Lord is not always effective and exterior, but more often affective and interior. Riches

[1] De Faye sees in the *Stromata* only a series of essays destined as a preface to serve Clement in the composition of the "*Master*," but forming no part of that work.

are no obstacle to salvation if good use is made of them,— rather, they may become a means of salvation, since they make works of mercy and charity easier for their possessor.

At the end of this homily is to be found the well known story of the thief converted by St. John the Apostle, which Eusebius reproduces in his Church History.[1] This little work was highly prized in antiquity; it is full of unction [89] and pious reflections. The date of its composition is unknown.

The other works contained in the editions of Clement are not so much treatises proper as excerpts Clement had made from other books, and notes he intended to use in future compositions. There is a fragment edited by Potter as the eighth *Stromaton*, but it is taken from a treatise on logic and deals with definition, genus, species, method, etc. The *Excerpta ex Scriptis Theodoti*, 86 in number, are selected fragments of Valentinian Gnostic works, especially of the works of Theodotus. Lastly, the 53 *Eclogae ex Scripturis Propheticis* are notes on various subjects whose origin it is hard to determine.

Eusebius in the sixth book[2] of his "Church History" enumerates a few other Clementine compositions: *On Easter*, *On Fasting*, *On Calumny*, *Exhortation to Perseverance* (or *To the Newly Baptised*), an *Ecclesiastical Canon* (or *Against Judaizers*). Only a few fragments remain of these writings.

2. ORIGEN[3]

ORIGEN (Ὡριγένης, *i.e.*, son of Horus) was the most famous of Clement's pupils. He was born of Christian parents in Egypt, apparently at Alexandria, in 185 or 186, and received his first training from his father, Leonidas, who suffered martyrdom in 202 or 203. Later he became a disciple of Pantaenus and Clement. When seventeen years of age he displayed such talent and learning that he gave lessons in grammar, and at the age of eighteen, was selected by the bishop (Demetrius) to be the successor of Clement in the headmastership of the catechetical school of Alexandria.

Thus he began his life of teaching. It is divided into two distinct parts: from c. 204-230, Origen taught, with [90] a few interruptions, at Alexandria; from 232 till his death, he taught at Caesarea in Palestine.

He not only taught during this first period, but continued his studies and, at the age of twenty-five, attended the school of the Neo-Platonist, Ammonius Saccas, in order to perfect his knowledge of philosophy. Besides this, he meditated upon the sacred Scriptures and learned — though very imperfectly — the Hebrew language. The year 212 was taken up by a journey to Rome to see "the most ancient Church." In 215 or 216, the persecution of Caracalla forced him to flee to Palestine, where Theoctistus, bishop of Caesarea, and Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, induced him, though a layman, to expound the Scriptures in their churches. Demetrius recalled him, in 218-219, to Alexandria, that he might resume his position as a teacher. This is the most brilliant period of his teaching life. Secretaries and copyists were placed at his disposal in abundance by one of his disciples, the rich Ambrosias, so that Origen, now in his prime, was able to multiply the number of his works and writings.

An unfortunate occurrence interrupted his work. About 230, he undertook a journey into Achaia and again passed through Caesarea of Palestine. His two friends, Theoctistus and Alexander, seized the opportunity to ordain him to the priesthood without consulting Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria. This was a violation of the canons. Demetrius protested and for this, and perhaps also for other reasons, Origen was deposed (231 or 232) from his office as head of the school of Alexandria and degraded from the priesthood. Special letters to all the other churches notified them of the measures taken.

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[1] *H. E.*, iii, 23, 5 ff.

[2] 13, 3, 9.

[3] Edition of his works by DE LA RUE (1733-1759) in the *Patrologia Graeca*, XI-XVII, which has added to them the *Hexaplas* of MONTFAUCON and different supplements. The edition of the *Schriftsteller* of Berlin numbers so far only 5 vol. See P. HUET, *Ongeniana* (Rouen, 1668) in *P. G.*, xvii, a fundamental work. E. R. REDEPENNING, *Origenes, eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre*, Bonn, 1841-1846. FREPPEL, *Origène*, Paris, 1884. CH. BIGG, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Oxford, 1886. F. PRAT, *Origène* (*La Pensée Chrétienne*), Paris, 1907.

Origen could no longer remain in Egypt. Banished from Alexandria, he withdrew to Caesarea and there commenced the second period of his career. Among his listeners was, for a time, the future St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. Origen escaped the persecution of Maximinus (235-237). In 240, he undertook a journey to Athens, and in 244 another to Arabia, to bring back to the orthodox faith Beryllus, bishop of Bostra. During the Decian persecution (250-251) he was cast into prison and underwent many tortures which, although they did not kill him, hastened his death. He was set free, but died shortly afterwards, at Tyre in Phoenicia, in 254 or 255, at the end of his sixty-ninth year. [91]

From an early date Origen received the surname of Adamantius (Ἀδαμάντιος, man of steel) to signify, according to Eusebius, the power of his reasoning; according to St. Jerome, the everlasting duration of his writings; we might add, to signify his indefatigable ardor and diligence. Origen's was a mind of insatiable curiosity and of prodigious knowledge, more vast, however, than deep. He grasped all the philosophical, Scriptural, and theological knowledge of his time. Nothing of any importance escaped his notice in ancient literature, sacred or profane. If exception be made of the books of the Epicureans and the Atheists, which he neglected on purpose, he had read all the other works and drawn profit from them all. However, he had a special predilection for the Sacred Scriptures. Apart from the critical work he undertook on the text of Holy Writ, of which we shall speak later, he had carefully examined all the different accounts and teachings it contained. It is on the authority of the Scriptures that he loves to base his own teaching. Origen is essentially a Biblical theologian, who formulated almost his entire theology in writing his commentaries on the Scriptures. This theology is not without faults, and its defects have drawn down upon the author many contradictions and even condemnations. On the whole, however, it has won for him first place among the theologians of the third century. Undoubtedly, one could desire more firmness and logical sequence in the work of Origen, and yet one cannot but admire the richness and variety of the vistas he opens up.

Origen ranks below Clement in purity, refinement, and harmony of style. In fact, he does not aim at writing well, but rather at writing clearly. Yet he is often prolix and diffuse. These defects may be accounted for, however, if we remember that many of his writings were merely lessons or discourses taken down in shorthand, and that the enormous productivity of his pen left him little time to polish his compositions.

Indeed, Origen is the most voluminous writer the Church has ever had and that even antiquity ever knew. St. Epiphanius speaks of 6,000 books written by him, but this is evidently an exaggeration since the catalogue of his works given by Eusebius, even though it comprises only the collection made by the priest Pamphylus at Caesarea, did not contain more than 2,000 titles. The catalogue made by [92] St. Jerome does not mention more than 800 titles, but it is not complete. Undoubtedly a great part of the literary output of Origen has been lost. This is due to two causes: first, the enormity of the work itself, so vast indeed that one was forced to make a choice in transcribing, since everything could not be copied; secondly, the condemnations which sully the memory of the author and throw discredit on his books. More than half of what has been preserved exists now only in Latin translations of the fourth or fifth centuries, and "these are too free and have been retouched too frequently to be taken at face value."[1]

We shall deal successively with Origen's Biblical works, with his apologetical and polemical works, with his theological works, and with his ascetical writings and letters.

1. *Biblical Works*. The first of Origen's Biblical works is the *Hexapla* (ἑξαπλᾶ βιβλία, sixfold Bible). It contains Old Testament texts arranged in six columns: a) the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters; b) the Hebrew text in Greek characters; c) the Greek version of Aquila; d) the Greek version of Symmachus; e) the Greek version of the Septuagint; and f) the Greek version of Theodotion. The book of Psalms was written in eight columns (*octapla*) because there were two more versions. This disposition of the texts enables one to compare the original with the different versions and so detect at a glance the true meaning of a passage. To facilitate this work still more, Origen made additions to the fifth column, that of the

[1] The *Philocalia* is a collection of Origen's most beautiful passages made by St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus. It has been re-edited by A. Robinson, Cambridge, 1893.

Septuagint. He marked with an obelisk verses or passages found in the Septuagint but missing in the original Hebrew; those which existed in the Hebrew but were wanting in the Septuagint, were borrowed from another version, inserted in the proper column, and indicated by an asterisk. Origen's purpose was to further a disinterested textual criticism of the Scriptures, for he looked upon the Septuagint as a perfect translation and gave it preference over the original Hebrew. But he wished to furnish controversialists who wrote against the Jews and who were accused by them of not knowing the Hebrew text, with the text itself and its meaning. The composition of the *Hexapla* began at Alexandria and was completed at Caesarea, c. 245. [93]

It is doubtful whether any second copy was ever made of this gigantic work; probably the only complete text was that of the original copy. St. Jerome certainly made use of this copy, then in the library of Caesarea, for the composition of his own works. If the entire work was never copied, at least some parts of it were, especially the fifth column, the most important one of all. Of the other columns only a few fragments remain.[1]

The other Scriptural writings of Origen may be divided into three groups: the Scholia, the Homilies, and the Commentaries.

The *Scholia* (σχόλια) are brief notes, often of a purely grammatical character, on the more difficult passages of Scripture. Origen wrote *scholia* on Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Isaias, the Psalms (especially the first fifteen), Ecclesiasticus, St. Matthew, St. John, and the Epistle to the Galatians. Only a few passages are preserved.

The *Homilies* are familiar talks with the faithful on the Scriptures. The author treats his subject from nearly all points of view: sometimes he discusses the text and fixes its meaning, like a professor; sometimes he draws lessons from the text and thus becomes a preacher and a moralist; sometimes he treats a question of dogma. About 500 of these homilies on the books of the Old and New Testaments are known, but Origen certainly composed a greater number than this. About 200 have been preserved, most of them in Latin translations due to Rufinus and to St. Jerome.

The *Commentaries*. In his homilies Origen's main purpose was to edify; in his commentaries (τόμοι), which were written works, he set himself the task of explaining the Sacred Text in a scientific way that would be fully understood by his readers. Unfortunately, Origen's interpretation is allegoristic, and his commentaries are nearly always incomplete. Before 244, Origen had commented upon the first four chapters of Genesis, a number of Psalms, the Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles (twice, the last time in 240-242), the first thirty chapters of Isaias (235), the Lamentations of Jeremias (at Alexandria), Ezechiel [94] (completed c. 240), the minor prophets (except Abdias), and the gospels of St. Luke and St. John (at Alexandria and at Caesarea, completed after 238); and after 244, upon the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistles of St. Paul, except Corinthians and Timothy. He does not seem to have commented upon the Catholic Epistles or the Apocalypse. Not one of these commentaries has reached us in its complete form. Only a few citations and some important portions from Greek or Latin translations remain. St. Jerome prized the second commentary on the Canticle of Canticles as the best of Origen's commentaries and even considered it the author's masterpiece.

The main reason why the greater part of Origen's commentaries has been lost is to be found in the author's neglect to explain the literal sense of the text and his abuse of allegorical exegesis. Convinced that the moral or spiritual sense was more important than the literal or historical meaning, which in some cases could not be accepted, he almost ignored the latter and developed the spiritual sense beyond due measure. Whilst some of his explanations are true, many are exaggerated and arbitrary. The School of Antioch arose and pointed out the danger of this exegetical subjectivism and kept men from reading such works.

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[1] Edition by FR. FIELD, *Orlgenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, Oxonii, 1867-1875. A few new fragments have since been discovered.

2. *Apologetical and Polemical Writings*. Origen's principal apologetical work is the treatise *Against Celsus*, in eight books.

Celsus was a learned Platonist, firmly attached to the national religion, who wrote, c. 177-178, an attack against Christianity entitled Ἀληθής λόγος (*True Discourse*, or better, *Demonstration of Truth*). Thanks to Origen, we possess about nine-tenths of the substance of this work and seven-tenths of it verbatim. In it Celsus shows a knowledge of Christianity perhaps unique among the pagans of his time and, although he has apprehended neither the originality nor the entire depth of the Christian faith, he has really studied the religion which he attacks. He uses the Holy Scriptures; he marks its difficulties and apparent contradictions; he knows that there exist many sects among the Christians and draws an argument from this fact against the truth of their religion. Like Voltaire, he is caustic and scornful. Celsus' work does not seem to have had much success at the time when it appeared; [95] it would, in all probability, have remained unnoticed, had not Origen brought it into prominence by writing, c. 244-249, a refutation of it at the request of his friend Ambrose. To the four books of the *Demonstration of Truth* Origen opposes eight of his work and they follow, step by step, the arguments of his opponent. He quotes him at length (except at the beginning) and answers his objections and arguments one by one. This work of Origen was held in great esteem in antiquity; in fact, he displayed such prodigious learning in no other book of his. The reader is greatly impressed by the firmness of the author's faith and the calm manner in which he meets and answers the objections of Celsus.

The *Contra Celsum* is the only work which remains of Origen's apologetical and polemical writings. We have only a reminder of a certain number of discussions which he had with either the Jews or certain heretics and which had been written down. It may well be that, besides the refutations of the principal heresies which he undertook in his works, he directed special treatises against the one or other of these in particular. If these treatises ever existed, they are no longer extant.

3. *Theological Writings*. Origen's most important theological writings is the περὶ ἄρχων (*De Principiis*). The Greek text of this work has been lost. Citations from it have been preserved, with two lengthy fragments, comprising the commencement of Book III and that of Book IV, in the *Philocalia*. The whole work has come down to us in a Latin translation by Rufinus. Unfortunately, this translation is very free; Rufinus has modified and even suppressed certain passages of questionable orthodoxy and introduced in their place passages from other parts of Origen's works. Of St. Jerome's literal translation we have only about twenty-seven short fragments.

The *De Principiis* was written at Alexandria shortly before 231, consequently about 229-230. Origen states his purpose in the introduction. Starting with the Apostolic and ecclesiastical preaching, which is the source of the whole Christian faith, he attempts to give a connected and systematic treatment of the fundamental teachings (ἀρχαὶ) of that faith by bringing together its scattered elements, clearing up difficulties, and completing what are often nothing more than mere indications. The whole idea is that of a [96] *Summa Theologica* and only a genius could have conceived it in Origen's time.

Origen divided the *De Principiis* into four books. The first treats of God, His unity and spirituality, the Logos, the Holy Ghost and the Angels. The second deals with the world and its creation, man and his origin, the redemption of man by the Incarnation, and the last things. The third book discusses the nature of human freedom, the strife between good and evil, and the final triumph of good. The fourth is devoted to theories of Scriptural interpretation and exegesis.

This attempt of Origen to construct a synthesis of Christian doctrine was premature. Unhappily, errors crept into the text, which proved injurious to the reputation of the work. St. Jerome's opinion that the book contains "more evil than good" is exaggerated. The reader is much more struck by the depth of certain views it contains, than by the unfortunate temerity of some of its hypotheses.

Before writing the *De Principiis*, Origen had composed at Alexandria ten books of *Stromata*, known to us only through a few citations. This appears to have been a work in which, with the help of Scripture, he

explained Christian beliefs, showing on the one hand how they differ from pagan doctrines, and on the other, how they are confirmed by the writings of philosophers.

Two works *On the Resurrection* should also be mentioned. The first, in two books, was composed at Alexandria; the second, also in two books, was written in dialogue form. Some fragments of this work are cited by Methodius of Olympus, Pamphilus, and St. Jerome.

4. *Ascetical Works and Letters*. Origen left two ascetical works,— *On Prayer* and an *Exhortation to Martyrdom*. The first is divided into two parts: a) chs. 1-17, on prayer in general, its necessity and efficacy; and b) chs. 18-30, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer. This little book is one of Origen's most prized works. It was written probably after 231. The *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, written in 235, at the beginning of the persecution of Maximinus, is addressed to Ambrose and to Protoctetus, a presbyter of Caesarea, whom Origen exhorts to confess their faith and even to die for it if necessary. It is a forceful and earnest address, which betrays the author's own attitude towards martyrdom. [97]

Origen's fame must have entailed a very extensive correspondence. Several collections of letters written by him, or addressed to him, are mentioned at an early date. Eusebius had gathered more than a hundred.[1] Only two complete letters have reached us: the letter to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, written probably at Nicomedia, 238-243; and the letter to Julius Africanus, written in the year 240. In the first Origen exhorts his former disciple, Gregory, not to give up the study of the Scriptures and always to subordinate the profane sciences to sacred science. In the second and more important letter Origen defends the canonicity of the history of Susanna, the episode of Bel and the dragon, and the prayers of Azarias and the three children, contained in the Greek text of the book of Daniel. We may add that, in certain other letters, mentioned by St. Jerome and Rufinus, Origen complained that some of his writings had been falsified and that errors had been imputed to him which he had never upheld.

Notwithstanding the doctrinal errors that may be laid to his charge, Origen is one of the greatest figures in ecclesiastical antiquity. He loved Christian truth most ardently and consecrated to it his whole genius and all his energies. He never separated the pursuit of knowledge from growth in personal holiness and charity towards others. His religion and piety equaled his learning and scholarship; and, if he was not a martyr, it is not because he failed to confess his faith, but because circumstances did not call on him to seal it with his blood.

3. Dionysius of Alexandria and Other Less Important Authors

The order of Origen's successors in the headship of the Alexandrine Catechetical School, up to the beginning of the fourth century, is probably as follows: Heraklas, Dionysius, Theognostus, Pierius, and Peter.

1. Heraklas (died 247 or 248) seems to have written nothing. His successor, Dionysius, or Denis, surnamed the Great,[2] was one of the most influential men of the middle [98] of the third century, and his life and works deserve some notice. He was born c. 190, of heathen parents, but through diligent reading and earnest reflection became a Christian and began to attend Origen's lessons. In 231-232 he was made headmaster of the school and in 248-249 became bishop of Alexandria. From this moment his life was a continual struggle against persecution and difficulties of all kinds. He was seized twice under Decius and Valerian and banished, first to Kephro in Libya, and later to Colluthion in the Mareotis. He returned to his Church under the emperor Gallienus, only to find it ravaged by civil war, famine, and pestilence. He died c. 265.

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[1] *H. E.*, vi, 36, 3.

[2] The Migne edition, *P. G.*, X, is incomplete. The student should consult that of Lett Feltoe, *The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*, Cambridge, 1904. See J. Burel, *Denys d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1910.

Dionysius was a man of great executive ability and noble character. Kind and entirely devoted to his people, combining knowledge with broad sympathy, he enjoyed universal esteem among his contemporaries. The Oriental Church honors him as a martyr.

Dionysius wrote a number of treatises and conducted an extensive correspondence, of which only lengthy fragments have been preserved by Eusebius who mentions,[1] first, a work On Nature, written to refute the atomic theory of the formation of the world and to establish the Christian belief in creation. Several lengthy extracts from it are cited by Eusebius.[2] He wrote, secondly, a treatise (now lost) *On Temptations*, *i.e*., trials and external persecutions; and, third, a *Commentary* on the first chapters of Ecclesiastes, of which a few fragments are still extant. Eusebius speaks at length of two others books of Dionysius, *On the Promises*.[3] In the first he refutes the doctrine of the millennium; in the second he gives a mystical interpretation of the Apocalypse and contests the assertion that St. John the Evangelist was its author. This work may have been composed between 253 and 257. Between the years 257 and 262, some bishops of the Pentapolis fell into Sabellianism. Dionysius wrote several letters to condemn their error, but made use of incorrect expressions with regard to the unity in the Trinity and the divinity of the Son. He was rebuked by Dionysius of Rome and immediately wrote in self-defence four books of *Refutation and Apology* (Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀπολογία), which are known to us through St. Athanasius (*De Sententia Dionysii*). [99]

From his extensive correspondence we see that Dionysius was connected with all the great church movements of his time. Eusebius cites or mentions twelve letters of his relating to Novatianism; seven letters written on the occasion of the baptismal controversy between St. Cyprian and Pope Stephen; one letter to the bishops of the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata; other letters to various persons; and, notably, many festal letters. A letter of his to Bishop Basilides has been incorporated among the canonical documents of the Greek Church and divided into four canons. It treats of the duration of the Lenten fast and of the purity of the body necessary for the reception of Communion.

2. The successor of Dionysius in the catechetical school of Alexandria was THEOGNOSTUS (264-280).[4] He wrote seven books of *Hypotyposes* or *Essays*, known to Photius.[5] They contained a systematic treatment of all Christian dogmas, strongly influenced by Origenistic theories. Photius praises their high tone and the purity and simplicity of their style.

3. PIERIUS,[6] who succeeded Theognostus, was a distinguished orator in the time of Bishop Theonas (282-300). The titles of some of his discourses, with a few fragments, are known to us through St. Jerome, Philip of Side, and Photius.[7] Among them is to be found one *On the Mother of God* (περὶ τῆς θεοτόκος),— a remarkable thing for this period. Photius esteemed in Pierius originality of thought and facility of expression.

4. In PETER,[8] who became bishop of Alexandria in 300 and died a martyr in 311, we meet the first open opponent of Origen in that city. Of his works we have one or two complete letters and fourteen canons, extracts from a festal letter which he wrote in 306. He also wrote a work *On the Divinity* (περὶ τῆς θεότητος), cited by the Council of Ephesus, and two other works against Origen, *viz*., *Against the Preexistence of Souls* and *On the Resurrection*. Only a few fragments of these remain. [100]

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[1] *H. E*., vii, 26, 2, 3.

[2] *Evangelical Preparation*, xvi, 23-27.

[3] *H. E*., vii, 24.

[4] *Patr. Graeca*, x, to which must be added FR. DIEKAMP, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, LXXXIV, 1902. On Theognostus and the two following authors see L. B. RADFORD, *Three Teachers of Alexandria, Theognostus, Pierius and Peter*, Cambridge, 1908.

[5] *Codex*, 106.

[6] *P. G*., x, 241-246, and C. DE BOOR, *Neue Fragmente*, in *Texte und Unters*., v, 2, Leipzig, 1888.

[7] *Codex*, 119.

[8] *P. G*., XVIII, and PITRA, *Analecta Sacra*, IV, 189-193, 426-429.

5. After speaking of the successors of Origen in the Alexandrine catechetical school, we will simply name here a few other authors of Alexandria, or Egypt, who did not occupy that office nor acquire a high literary reputation: (1) Origen's patron, AMBROSE (d. 248-253), author of a few letters; (2) Bishop DEMETRIUS, some of whose letters are known; (3) TRYPHO of Alexandria, who wrote many short treatises (*multa opuscule*), mostly exegetical; (4) AMMONIUS — there may have been two or perhaps even three of that name,— who wrote on the *Accord between Moses and Jesus* and a synopsis of the Gospels; (5) ANATOLIUS of Alexandria, bishop of Laodicea, c. 268, author of a book *On Easter* and some theological works; (6) NEPOS, bishop of Arsinoe, whose views on the millennium and whose work *Against the Allegorists* were refuted by Dionysius of Alexandria; (7) PHILEAS, bishop of Thmuis, martyred in 306, from whom we have two letters or fragments of letters; (8) HESYCHIUS, who lived towards the end of the third century and at the beginning of the fourth, and revised the text of the Septuagint and the Gospels, and whom St. Jerome handled pretty roughly; and (9) HIERAKAS (c. 300), head of a numerous community of ascetics of both sexes at Leontopolis, and the first ecclesiastical author to write in Coptic. Our only source of information concerning Hierakas is St. Epiphanius,[1] who mentions a work by him on the Hexaemeron and many new Psalms.

4. SYRO-PALESTINIANS — JULIUS AFRICANUS — PAMPHILUS AND LESS IMPORTANT AUTHORS

The Syro-Palestinian writers of the third century form three groups. The first centered around Caesarea and Jerusalem and was in more or less intimate relation with Origen; the second belongs to Antioch; and the third is made up of anonymous writers who wrote we know not exactly where. In this section we shall deal only with the two first-named groups.

1. JULIUS AFRICANUS[2] was born c. 170 at the latest, perhaps [101] in Libya, and in 195 made a campaign with the troops of Septimius Severus in Osrhoene, where he became acquainted with Abgar IX, king of Edessa. After many travels he settled at Emmaus — Nicopolis — six hours journey from Jerusalem, and died there between 240 and 250. We do not know whether or not he was born a Christian; but it is certain that he remained a layman all his life and that his concept of Christianity was tainted with vulgar superstitions. He had great intellectual curiosity and was interested in everything, but unfortunately gathered his information without discrimination or criticism. His most important work is a chronicle in five books, entitled *Chronographia*. Not one of these books is intact; yet, as the work was much used by Eusebius, St. Jerome, and more recent chroniclers, its contents are well known to us. Starting with the idea that the exact chronology of the world is to be found in the Bible, Julius Africanus inscribes, opposite the dates and events given in the Scriptures, the synchronous events of the history of the gentile world. This was the second part of the work, the *Canons*, and was naturally preceded by a first and theoretical part, in which were discussed the dates and figures of both sacred and profane history. The *Chronographia* covered all history from the Creation to the year 221 A. D., the third year of Elagabal, — 5723 years. A second book of Julius Africanus is entitled *Embroidered Girdles* (Κεοτοί), or miscellaneous knowledge. It deals with all kinds of subjects — warfare, medicine, agriculture, magic, etc., — some of them entirely foreign to a Christian pen. A good many fragments of this work have reached us. It was written after the "Chronographia." Lastly we must mention *two letters*. One, addressed to Origen, is entirely preserved. It is against the canonicity of the history of Susanna in the Book of Daniel. The other, addressed to a certain Aristides, endeavors to reconcile the genealogies of St. Joseph in St. Matthew's and St. Luke's Gospels.

2. ALEXANDER. Another of Origen's correspondents and friends was the former disciple of Clement, Bishop Alexander, who received Clement into his home after his flight from Alexandria and conferred the priesthood on Origen. He was born c. 160-170, probably in Asia Minor, and was at first bishop in Cappadocia or Cilicia. On the occasion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he was forcibly detained by the

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[1] *Haer.*, lxvii.

[2] *P. G.*, x and xi, and indications in A. HARNACK, *Geschichte der altchristl. Liter.*, I, 508-511. See H. GELZER, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, Leipzig, 1880-1898. G. SALMON, in *D. C. B.*, art. "AFRICANUS."

Christians of that city and installed as coadjutor to the aged [102] bishop Narcissus, whom he succeeded c. 216. Eusebius and St. Jerome mention many of his letters.

3. BERYLLUS. St. Jerome[1] speaks also of a correspondence between Origen and Beryllus, bishop of Bosra, converted by Origen to the orthodox Church. Beryllus lived under the reign of Caracalla (211-217) and his retractation took place under Gordianus (238-244). Besides letters, he composed a *Philocalia* or collection of extracts from foreign works.

4. PAMPHILUS. Pamphilus is the last of the Palestinian authors of the third century of whom we have to speak. He did not know Origen personally, but was one of his most fervent admirers. Born of rich parents, at Berytus in Phoenicia, he studied theology at Alexandria, under Pierius, and then took up his permanent residence at Caesarea in Palestine. There he was ordained priest, opened a theological school, and became known for his zealous efforts to enrich the magnificent library Origen had founded in that city. He died a martyr, in 309, during the persecution of Maximinus. His collaborator and friend, Eusebius, describes him in a biography as a model priest, adorned with all virtues.

Besides his letters, no longer extant, Pamphilus, while in prison, wrote an *Apology for Origen*, in five books, to which Eusebius added a sixth. In it he discussed all the charges made against Origen. Only the first of these books has been preserved in a Latin translation by Rufinus.[2] Another of Pamphilus' occupations was to revise and correct the numerous copies of the Bible he had made from the text edited by Origen. But he never made a new recension of the Sacred Text, as some have thought.

5. The writers of Antioch during this period deserve only a brief mention from a literary point of view. They are: (1) GEMINUS, a priest under Alexander Severus (222-235), who, according to St. Jerome,[3] was the author of a few books; (2) PAUL OF SAMOSATA (260-268), tried by three councils and finally deposed after the priest Melchior had convicted him of error. He seems to have written some discourses to Sabinus, from which five citations are [103] preserved; (3) LUCIAN, martyred in 312, the teacher of Arius and himself suspected of doctrinal error, founder of the first exegetical school of Antioch, who made a recension of the Sacred Text, still used in the fourth century in Syria, Asia Minor, Constantinople and Thrace, and to whom St. Jerome[4] attributed other works, professions of faith (*De Fide Libelli*) and letters.

5. ANONYMOUS AND DISCIPLINARY WRITINGS

The work entitled *De Recta in Deum Fide* (*On the Right Faith in God*)[5] is a dialogue which has reached us in Greek and Latin texts, the latter a translation by Rufinus, but more faithful than his translations generally are. It is a disputation between Adamantius, the champion of the Christian faith, and the Marcionites Megethius and Marcus; a follower of Bardesanes, Marinus, and two followers of Valentinian, Droserius and Valens. Adamantius wins the debate and the heathen Eutropius, chosen as arbiter, is himself converted. Although the dialogue gives evidence of dialectic skill, it is poorly written.

At an early date the *De Recta in Deum Fide* was attributed to Origen, but wrongly so, since it cites Methodius of Olympus, who wrote fifty years later. It is even doubtful whether Origen is indicated by the name of Adamantius. At any rate, the author is unknown. All that seems certain is that he wrote in the northern part of Syria, between 295 and 305.

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 60.

[2] It may be found in *P. G.*, xvii, 521-616.

[3] *Vir. Ill.*, 64.

[4] *Vir. Ill.*, 77.

[5] *P. G.*, vol. xi. Better edition by W. H. VAN DE SANDE BAKHUYZEN, *Der Dialog des Adamantius*, Leipzig, 1901. See HORT, in *D. C. D.*, art. "ADAMANTIUS."

The *Didascalia Apostolorum* was written very probably also in northern Syria.[1] It is the first of the *disciplinary* writings of which we have to speak. The original Greek text has perished or at best exists only in a considerably retouched form in the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. However, it has been completely preserved in a [104] Syriac translation and partly in a Latin one dating from the fourth century.[2] Both of these translations faithfully represent the Greek text. The Syriac version is divided into 26 or 27 chapters whose contents are as follows. After some general advice to all Christians and especially to married persons (chs. i-iii), the author deals with the qualifications requisite for a bishop (chs. iv-xii). This is the most important part of the work. Ch. xiii is on assistance at the offices of the Church; chs. xiv and xv on widows; ch. xvi on the ordinations of deacons and deaconesses; chs. xvii-xix on the care of children and orphans; ch. xx on the care of confessors of the faith; ch. xxi on the resurrection of the dead; ch. xxii on Easter and fasting; chs. xxiii-xxiv on heresies and schisms; and chs. xxv-xxvii on the relation between the Old Law and the Gospel and on how the Apostles made the present regulations.

The *Didascalia* seems to have been written in the second half of the third century by the bishop of some large commercial town, a municipality of Upper Syria. Jewish practices and Novatian rigorism are fiercely attacked. The ecclesiastical hierarchy seems not yet to have reached any advanced stage of development, although some mention is made of subdeacons.

Side by side with the *Didascalia* may be placed another disciplinary work, much less extensive, first edited by Bickell, entitled *Ordinances Transmitted by Clement and Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles*.[3] Only the second part seems to be authentic. Bickell calls this little work "*Apostolische Kirchenordnung*" and Msgr. Batiffol proposed to name it "Egyptian Apostolic Constitutions." The latter title would settle in advance the question of origin.

The "Ordinances" comprise 30 sections. Aside from the introduction (1-3) and the conclusion, the book is divided into two distinct parts: a moral part (4-14), which merely retouches chs. i-iv, 8 of the *Didache*; and a disciplinary part (15-29), containing certain provisions relative to bishops, priests, lectors, deacons, widows, deaconesses, laymen, and the charitable ministrations of women. Each moral and disciplinary ordinance is given as the dictum of an individual [105] Apostle, so that the book appears as the work of the whole Apostolic college.

Very probably this book is the one which St. Jerome[4] calls *Liber Judicii* and Rufinus[5] *Duae Viae vel Judicium secundum Petrum* because in it Peter directs all the decisions. Hauler has discovered a fragment of a Latin version of this work, which he says goes back to the second half of the fourth century. The original Greek text must have been from the second half of the third century. It was thought at first that its birthplace was Egypt, for the work forms part of a compilation, entitled the *Octateuch*, which seems to have been written in Egypt, but since then a few Syriac texts of the *Octateuch* have been discovered and, as this work was composed on the model of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, it is now generally believed to be of Syriac origin.

The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles must have had the same origin.

6. Writers of Asia Minor — St. Gregory Thaumaturgus — Methodius

Asia Minor, which furnished so many eminent writers in the second century, was much less fruitful in the third. When we have mentioned FIRMILIAN, bishop of Caesarea (d. 268), whose writings — no longer

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1 Edit. P. DE LAGARDE, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace*, Lipsiae, 1854. French transl. by F. NAU, *La Didascalie des Douze Apôtres*, 2e edit., Paris, 1912. Marg. DUNLOP GIBSON has given a new Syriac edition and an English translation, London, 1903. See M. VIARD, *La Didascalie des Apôtres*, Langres, 1906.

2 This translation may be found in F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1.

3 Edit. F. X. FUNK, *Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum, Canones Apostolorum Ecclesiastici*, Tübingen, 1887.

4 *Vir. ill.*, 1.

5 *Comment. in Symbol. Apostol.*, 38.

extant — are cited by St. Basil, and who has left us an important letter to St. Cyprian relative to the baptismal controversy,[1] only two authors deserve our attention, ST. GREGORY THAUMATURGUS and ST. METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS.

1. GREGORY,[2] whose original name was Theodore, was born c. 213 at Neo-Caesarea (Pontus), of rich but heathen parents. After completing his studies in literature and law, he was on the point of setting out for Berytus in Phoenicia, c. 233, when providential circumstances turned his course to Caesarea. There he listened to Origen, became attached to him, and for five years followed his teaching. Soon after [106] his return to Pontus, in 238, though still young, he was consecrated first bishop of Neo-Caesarea. From this moment his life was that of an apostle. He passed through the Decian persecution untouched. In 264 he took part in the synod of Antioch that condemned Paul of Samosata. He died, according to Suidas, in the reign of Aurelian, between 270 and 275. At an early date numerous miracles were attributed to his intercession, which incontestably proves the profound impression his holy life had made upon the people.

We have five of St. Gregory's authentic works:

a) *The Discourse of Thanksgiving to Origen* (Εἰς Ὠριγένην προσφωνητικός). This is a panegyric delivered at Caesarea, in 238, thanking Origen at his departure for his kind solicitude. It is an academic oration, yet sincere and affectionate in tone, a very precious document on account of the information it contains on Origen's method and curriculum.

b) A *Formula of Faith*, supposed to have been revealed to Gregory by St. John the Evangelist. The authenticity of this work does not appear doubtful. It is brief, but very important on account of its exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity. It may have been written between 260 and 265.

c) *A Canonical Letter to the Bishops of Pontus*, written c. 254-258, on the occasion of the raids of the Goths and Boradi into Pontus. Gregory indicates the proper treatment, from the penitential point of view, of those Christians who had been guilty of various sins in these difficult circumstances. This letter has been placed in the Greek canonical collection.

d) A *Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes*, a reproduction in freer form of the contents of that inspired work.

e) *On the Possibility and Impassibility of God*, a work dedicated to Theopompus, extant in Syriac only. The author shows that God, although in Himself impassible, is not for that reason indifferent to human actions, and that, although Tie suffered in Jesus Christ, on the other hand He proved Himself impassible by His triumph over death. The treatise is a philosophical colloquy. It dates back to the first years of Gregory's episcopate.

Besides these preserved writings, we know through St. Basil[3] that St. Gregory also composed a dialogue with a [107] pagan named Aelianus, in which the Sabellians pretended to discover their error. St. Jerome[4] also mentions a few epistles; but all are lost, except the canonical letter mentioned above.

2. METHODIUS.[5] The life of St. Methodius is practically unknown. Eusebius does not honor him with a mention, no doubt because he wrote against Origen. We know through St. Jerome[6] that he was bishop of Olympus — not of Patara — in Syria and died a martyr's death under Diocletian, in 311. He is a very elegant and painstaking writer. He aims at style and seeks in his works — nearly all couched in dialogue form —

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[1] We have only a Latin translation of this letter, made by St. Cyprian; among the letters of St. Cyprian, edit. HARTEL, letter lxxv.

[2] Works in *P. G.*, x. The treatise to Theopompus is in P. DE LAGARDE, *Anecdota Syriaca*, Lipsiae, 1858. See RYSSEL, *Gregorius Thaumaturgus, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1880.

[3] *Epist.* ccx, 5.

[4] *Vir. Ill.*, 65.

[5] For the *Banquet*, see *P. G.*, xviii; for all his works, edit, by N. BONWETSCH, in the *Christl. Schriftst.*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1917. See C. CAREL, *S. Methodii Patarensis Convivium Decem Virginum*, Paris, 1890.

[6] *Vir. Ill.*, 83.

to imitate Plato. Although he was far from reaching the perfection of his model, we cannot deny him true literary talent. His theology, which reminds one of St. Irenaeus and Melito, is traditional and firm. He was a relentless opponent of Origen.

The writings of St. Methodius may be divided into two classes, — those preserved (at least in great part) in Greek and those extant only in Slavonic translations. These translations, discovered by Bonwetsch, are, as a rule, very literal, but incomplete.

a) The only Greek work of Methodius which exists in complete form, is *The Banquet* or *On Virginity*. It is a series of discourses rather than a dialogue. Ten virgins speak in turn and laud virginity as the perfection of Christian life, the means of becoming like Christ, etc. At the end, Thecla, the eighth speaker, secures the prize and intones a hymn of twenty-four strophes with a refrain. Notwithstanding the virtuosity dispayed in the work, its author has not escaped monotony, as the same ideas necessarily recur again and again.

The dialogue on *The Freedom of the Will* (περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου) is extant in a long Greek fragment, which may be completed from a Slavonic translation. The work attacks Gnostic dualism, which admitted two principles, one good, the other bad; and is directed also against determinism.

The dialogue *Aglaophon*, or *On the Resurrection*, in three books, exists incomplete in a Greek text and a Slavonic version. [108] It was directed against Origen. The author proves that the body which will rise again is our actual body, and not a new, pneumatic body, possessing only the form of the material one.

b) The writings preserved solely or principally in Slavonic are the following: *On Life*, an exhortation to be content with what Providence gives us in this world and promises us in the next, and three allegorical and symbolical explanations of various passages in Scripture: *On the Difference of Foods and the Young Cow whose Blood Purified Sinners* — the foods our works and the "young cow," Christ; *To Sistelius on Leprosy;* leprosy in its different forms is sin, from which we must purify ourselves; *On the Bloodsucker and on the Words:* "*The heavens show forth the Glory of God*," an allegorical explanation of Proverbs, xxx, 15 ff. and Psalm xviii, 2.

Besides these works, we know that Methodius wrote several books against the philosopher Porphyry. These books were highly valued by St. Jerome, but are extant only in five fragments; an opuscule against Origen, entitled *De Pythonissa;* commentaries (now lost) on Genesis and the Canticle of Canticles; a commentary on Job; a discourse on the martyrs, cited by Theodoret; and, lastly, a dialogue, entitled *Xenon*, doubtless identical with the book *On Created Beings* (περὶ τῶν γενητῶν) which is quoted at length by Photius,[1] in which Methodius refuted the opinion of Origen on creation *ab aeterno*.

[1] *Codex*, 235.

[109]

SECTION VI

WESTERN WRITERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY

Something has been said before concerning the positive and practical turn of mind of the writers of the West, as contrasted with the speculative and philosophical spirit of those of the East. While the Greeks debate on problems of religious metaphysics, the Latins prefer to apply themselves to questions of Christian morality or ecclesiastical organization. This is owing to racial differences and characteristics. Besides, in the third century, Origen was for the East a literary center, around which everything gravitated. Nearly all writers were either friends or foes of the great Alexandrian. In the West there is no such central figure; but the divisions are merely geographical, and hence we find three different groups,— the African writers, the Roman writers, and (the smallest group) the writers of Gaul and Pannonia. We shall deal successively with each group.

1. AFRICAN WRITERS — TERTULLIAN[1]

The African writers are by far the most numerous and the most important. It is in Africa that Latin ecclesiastical literature originated and reached its apogee in St. Augustine. One of the first representatives, if not the pioneer, of this school was Tertullian.

QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS was born, c. 160, at Carthage, where his father was garrisoned as a Roman officer. As the latter was a pagan, Tertullian's youth [110] was not at all virtuous. But it was laborious, for Tertullian read and studied whatever he could lay his hands on. His erudition, consequently, was considerable. Of Roman law, in particular, he possessed a profound knowledge, and if he was not a lawyer by profession, he certainly had the temperament and spirit of one. His conversion to Christianity took place c. 193-195. We do not know what motives led him to become a Christian, but his conversion was sincere and complete. Towards the year 200, though married, he was ordained to the priesthood, passed undisturbed through the persecution of Septimius Severus, and thus reached the year 213, waging war against heresy and paganism.

It was at this time that Tertullian broke definitively with the Church. The cause of this rupture was the condemnation by Rome of Montanism and, more particularly, the papal authorization to contract a second marriage, which practice was denounced by Montanists. Tertullian now turned against Catholics the weapons he had so effectually wielded in his battles against heresy. Yet from this moment on there was a marked decrease in his literary activity. His last known work, *De Pudicitia*, was written from 217 to 222. After this date all trace of him is lost. We know only that he fell out with the bulk of the Montanists and became the leader of a special sect, known as Tertullianists. St. Jerome says that he lived to a very advanced age, which makes it likely that he died between 240 and 250.

Tertullian was a born fighter. Energetic of mind, independent of character, an implacable logician, he pushed his principles to the extreme and with an iron will, before which everything had to bend, fought all his life for what he thought to be true, good, and right. Unfortunately, he possessed the defects of his qualities. He lacks moderation; his logic runs into paradox. Carried away by his cause, he exaggerates principles and unconsciously distorts texts and facts; he picks arguments at random and, without stopping to discriminate, hurls them pell-mell at his opponent. His firmness is very often stubbornness. He exaggerates Christian morality and makes it impracticable, for he fails to perceive the truths connected with

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, I-III; better edit, by F. OEHLER, *Q. S. F. Tertulliani quae supersunt omnia*, Lipsiae, 1853-1854. The edition of the *Corpus* of Vienna is incomplete. In the *Textes et Documents* have appeared: *De Paenitentia, De Pudicitia* (1906), *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* (1907), Latin text and French transl. by P. DE LABRIOLLE. J. P. WALTZING has published a French translation and a commentary of the *Apologeticum*, Louvain, 1910. See FREPPEL, *Tertullien*, Paris, 1864: G. BOISSIER, *La Fin du Paganisme*, 1, 259-304; P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Littér, de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, I, Paris, 1901; A. D'ALÈS, *La Théologie de Tertullien*, Paris, 1905.

those he is developing, and applies to the complex problems of practical life an inflexible and abstract logic which suits only problems of pure speculation. In short, he is a very poor casuist.

Evidently there was in his character a notable amount of [111] pride. He himself confessed that his great defect was impatience, *i.e.*, inability to wait, to deal with things coolly, and to leave a part in the conduct of affairs and consciences to time, to God, and to other human influences besides his own.

Tertullian is a writer of the first order. Not that he has no serious and evident defects, for he is, on the contrary, often careless, nay unnatural and affected. His excessive terseness and fondness for contrast betray him into obscurity. He has an eye to rhetorical effect and counts purity of diction as nothing. He borrows words freely and does not hesitate, when there is need, to coin new ones. On the other hand he composes with care, his writings are generally very orderly and, even in his wildest digressions he never loses sight of the end in view. His style is altogether original, warm, crisp, and varied. The fire and genius which characterize his thought are felt in his style and compel the reader's assent, while they carry him on, breathless and amazed. Even his neologisms are often justified. Owing to the fact that he had to express new and Christian ideas in an ancient and pagan idiom, Tertullian was forced to introduce new terms into the language he wrote, or modify the meaning of old ones, to express his thought completely. He is the creator of theological terminology in Latin.

We possess 31 authentic writings of Tertullian, four of which date from 197-200, ten from 200-206, twelve from 206-216 and five from 213-222. However, instead of following this chronological order, we shall divide his writings into apologetical, controversial, dogmatic, moral and disciplinary, and mention the lost writings at the end.

1. APOLOGETICAL WRITINGS. There are five of these.

a) *Ad Nationes* (To the Pagans), two books. Book I is a criticism of pagan morals; Book II, of pagan beliefs as presented notably by Varro. The work was written in 197 and announces a future work, the *Apologeticum*.

b) The *Apologeticum*, which appeared at the end of 197, is the most remarkable of the early apologies. Tertullian's predecessors had limited themselves as a rule to protest the innocence of Christians and, by way of retaliation, scoffed at paganism. Tertullian does not reject this mode of proceeding, but adopts new tactics. In the *Apologeticum* he contests, from the judicial point of view, the legitimacy of [112] the laws of persecution and relies on the ideas implied in these laws to show the injustice of the measures taken against the Christians. The entire treatise may be summed up in the following four propositions: α) The procedure employed against the Christians is irregular and absurd (chs. 1-3) β) The laws under which they are pursued, are contrary to common right and the natural law (chs. 4-6); γ) the crimes of impiety and high treason which serve as a basis for condemning Christians are imaginary (chs. 7-38); δ) the association of Christians is lawful, their doctrines are true, their public and private conduct is irreproachable (chs. 39-50). The most original part is in the first chapters, where the author demonstrates the inconsistency of the persecutors who do not seek out the Christians whom they suspect of being guilty, and release those who apostatize. The whole work is written with intense earnestness such as is to be found nowhere in his other works. As he was entirely in the right, Tertullian had only to follow the trend of his genius to produce a masterpiece.

c) *De Testimonio Animae* (On the Testimony of the Soul), in six chapters, written between 197 and 200, may be considered as an appendix to the *Apologeticum*, one of the arguments of which it develops.

d) *Ad Scapulam*, c. 212, an open letter in which the author threatens Scapula, a cruel governor, with the divine judgment if he persists in persecuting the Christians. This idea was later taken up by Lactantius.

e) *Adversus Judaeos* (Against the Jews), 200-206, a demonstration of the truth of Christianity from the prophecies. The work comprises 14 chapters: there is no decisive evidence against the authenticity of the last six.

2. POLEMICAL WRITINGS. Tertullian's chief polemical writings are:

a) *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, the foremost among them, is a general refutation of all dogmatic innovations, in which Tertullian, in juridical form, takes up the argument employed in the third book of St. Irenaeus treatise *Adversus Haereses* and opposes to heretics the authority of tradition and of the Church. The work may be divided into three parts: α) Chs. 1-14. Tertullian addresses the faithful and warns them against heresy and heretics. Heresies are a trial for the Church and a danger for the feeble; one must [113] fly before them, avoid all rash curiosity, and remain attached to the rule of faith. β) Chs. 15-37. Such is not the conduct of heretics. They pretend to correct the rule of faith by appealing to the Scriptures. But they must not be allowed even to argue from the Scriptures. Antecedently to their pleading Tertullian opposes to them prescription, *i.e.*, not a possession of long duration in the sense of our actual law, but an *exceptio iuris*, a preliminary difficulty, making their plea impossible by wrenching from their hands the very instrument of proof upon the use of which they depend. That heretics be permitted to use S. Scripture, it is necessary that Scripture should belong to them. But it is the property of those who profess the true faith. Now heretics have not the true faith, since that faith is only in the churches founded by the Apostles, or deriving from the Apostolic churches the doctrines of Jesus Christ. Truth comes to us from God through Jesus Christ, the Apostles and the Apostolic churches. Now heretics are outside of these churches; they can, therefore, possess neither the true faith nor the Scriptures. Hence they are intruders and robbers and their case is lost from the outset. This is the second and principal part of the treatise, γ) Chs. 38-44 are devoted to a description of the doctrinal divergencies and the absence of all discipline among heretics. After vanquishing his opponents, Tertullian sarcastically scoffs at them. This treatise *De Praescriptione* is one of Tertullian's best works, of far-reaching importance and written in the author's most characteristic style. It must have been written around the year 200.

b) *Adversus Marcionem Libri V*, (208-211), is Tertullian's next work in order of importance. It was edited three times during the author's life, the last edition alone having come down to us. Book I demonstrates the unity of a good and just God; Book II, the identity of this God with the Creator; Book III, the unity of Christ; Books IV and V refute the *Antitheses* of Marcion, a heretic, and show that the Gospel of St. Luke and the Epistles of St. Paul, admitted by Marcion, condemn his system.

c) Marcion had a disciple named Hermogenes, a painter at Carthage, who insisted on the opposition between God and matter and maintained that matter was a second principle, eternal like God. Against him Tertullian directed the *De Censu animae*, which has been lost, and, 200-206, the [114] treatise *Adversus Hermogenem*, a strong refutation, mixed with mockeries, showing that Hermogenes is as bad a philosopher as he is a painter.

d) The treatise *Adversus Valentinianos* is the weakest of Tertullian's polemical writings. Not having made any personal study of Valentinianism, he contents himself with summing up more or less adequately the assertions of former writers, notably St. Irenaeus. In place of a refutation we find a none too lofty satire on the adventures of the eons. The whole is nothing but a superficial plagiarism.

3. DOGMATIC WRITINGS.

Strictly speaking, these works — at least the greater number of them — might be ranged among the writings against heresies, for they aim at establishing some truth denied by dissident sects. Yet as the exposition of dogma holds the principal place in them, we have placed them in a separate category.

a) *De Baptismo*. This treatise was written between 200 and 206 for the use of neophytes, to put them on their guard against the propaganda of a certain Quintilla, who sought to discredit the Sacrament. The author answers nearly all the questions that may be asked about this Sacrament: its necessity, unity, ceremonies, minister, subject, and effects, the value of the baptism administered by heretics, etc.

b) The *Scorpiace*, or *Antidote against the Bites of the Scorpion*, was written in 211-212 against the Gaianites, who denied the duty of confessing one's faith unto death and martyrdom. Idolatry, argues Tertullian, is forbidden; hence also apostasy. Sometimes martyrdom becomes a duty; at any rate it is for the Christian the pledge of eternal glory.

c) *De Carne Christi*. The treatises *On the Body of Christ* and *On the Resurrection*, mentioned below, are, in the mind of their author, parts of one and the same demonstration. The dogma of our resurrection is based on the fact of Christ's own. Now the resurrection of Christ could take place only because his body was a real human body. Before proving, therefore, the fact of our own resurrection, we must prove the reality of the body of Christ. Such is the preliminary thesis Tertullian sets forth in the *De Carne Christi*. The treatise was written between 208 and 211 and comprises two parts. The first (chs. 1-16) refutes different doctrines advanced by Marcion, Apelles, Valentine, and Alexander. The [115] second (chs. 17-25) gives the proofs for the Christian belief. In this work, side by side with passages of great elevation, we meet with vulgar details and a shocking realism.

d) *De Resurrectione Carnis* was published almost immediately after the *De Came Christi* (208-211). It was writ ten against the pagans and Gnostics. After a few words of praise about the human body and the part it plays in the work of sanctification, Tertullian proves that the resurrection of the body is possible — nay, fitting and necessary, and that the Scriptures teach its reality. He next examines in what practical conditions the resurrection will take place. This is one of Tertullian's best works; the reasoning is strong and logical, the form, calm and moderate.

e) *Adversus Praxean* (213-217) was written against one of the leaders of the Patripassian heresy and against his adherents. Praxeas had introduced his error into Africa, but he had also cautioned Pope Victor in Rome against the Montanists and thus prevented them from being admitted to the communion. This twofold grievance provoked the hostility of Tertullian, who was now a declared Montanist, and the result was a work of harsh and haughty controversy, but of surprising theological strength, on the unity of substance and the distinction of persons in the Trinity. Nothing more clear or more conclusive had been written on the subject before. The author, in his exposition of the Trinity and the Incarnation, has coined expressions and formulas which have become classical.

f) *De Anima*, Tertullian's longest treatise after the *Adversus Marcionem*, may be ranked with the preceding dogmatical treatises. Three questions are examined in this work: What is the soul? What is its origin? And what becomes of it after death? The author answers these questions from Scripture and philosophy, Stoic philosophy in particular. His answers are, therefore, not always correct. For instance, he distinctly affirms the corporeity of the soul and its origin *ex traduce*, like that of the body. All souls, except those of the martyrs, descend into hell after death, to await there the resurrection of the body for the final retribution. Tertullian's psychology is one of the weakest parts of his system, as he instinctively inclines to sensualism.

4. MORAL AND DISCIPLINARY WRITINGS.

In the writings of this class the author treats points of [116] ecclesiastical discipline or individual moral questions, or endeavors to solve practical difficulties which arise for Christians from their constant relations with the pagans.

a) *De Oratione* (200-206) was intended, partially at least, as an instruction for catechumens. It comprises three sections: α) Chs. 1-9 explain in detail the Lord's Prayer; β) Chs. 10-27 specify the moral, physical and liturgical conditions of a good prayer; γ) Chs. 28-29 describe the excellence and marvelous effects of prayer, by which, as it is a perpetual sacrifice, we can obtain from God whatever we need.

b) *De Paenitentia*. We have two treatises of Tertullian on penance. The first, *De Paenitentia*, is orthodox and was written between 200 and 206. It deals with the penance to be performed first before (chs. 1-6), and secondly after Baptism (chs. 7-12). Post-baptismal penance is possible, painful, and laborious, but salutary, and should be performed with generosity if there is need of it.

c) The *De Pudicitia* (*On Chastity*) is altogether different. It is a protest against the declaration of a Pope (Callixtus, it is thought) that he would grant pardon, after a certain period of penance, to sinners guilty of fornication or adultery. Tertullian was then a Montanist and denied that the Pope and the bishops in general were able to remit this kind of sins, as also those of apostasy and murder. Only a "spiritual" follower of the

Paraclete could remit them in virtue of a charism or special privilege granted to him by God; but, as a matter of fact, God does not grant such charisms. Tertullian, then, denies the power of the Church to absolve from certain sins. The treatise appeared between 217 and 222.

This question of chastity well deserved Tertullian's attention. He devoted five books to it, the three latter aimed especially at second marriage. They are: *On the Dress of Women* (*De Cultu Feminarum*, 200-206), *On the Veil of Virgins* (*De Virginibus Velandis*, 208-211), *To My Wife* (*Ad Uxorem*, 200-206), *Exhortation to Chastity* (*De Exhortatione Castitatis*, 208-211), and *On Monogamy* (*De Monogamia*, 213).

d) *De Cultu Feminarum* is an exhortation to women to practice simplicity in dress and ornament. It is satyrical, a medley of reproach and advice. It is difficult to give an analysis of this work. The first book deals especially with [117] dress; the second, with the care of the body and the face.

e) A particular detail of feminine dress was the wearing of the veil. Married women were veiled at church and on the street; for young girls the custom varied. In the *De Velandis Virginibus* Tertullian insists that virgins be veiled and gives his reasons. Some of these reasons are excellent; others are pure sophistry.

f) In the two books *Ad Uxorem* Tertullian begins the exposition of his ideas on marriage and second nuptials. He always looked upon marriage as a mere tolerance and makeshift and on second nuptials as hardly licit. In the *Ad Uxorem* he exhorts his wife not to marry again after his death (Bk. I), or at least not to marry a pagan, mixed marriages being very objectionable (Bk. II).

g) The same advice, not to remarry, is repeated in the *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, addressed to a widowed friend. In this work the tone against second nuptials is sharper. If St. Paul seems to permit second marriage, he does not speak as the interpreter of the Holy Spirit, but according to his own human and fallible mind.

h) The *De Monogamia* is Tertullian's last step towards error. He maintains against the *psychici*[1] the absolute illicitness of second nuptials. The Holy Ghost has corrected the Old Testament and St. Paul; laymen must be monogamous just as clerics. This is a crafty plea, full of inexactitudes and sophisms. In order to attack second nuptials, the author does not hesitate to attack marriage itself and the family.

i) The treatise *De Ieiunio adversus Psychicos* is a Montanist work (written after 213), in which Tertullian defends the numerous and rigorous fasts of his sect against the criticism of Catholics. There are a few general reflections, which are correct, but they are spoiled by offensive and coarse remarks addressed to his opponents.

j) The treatise or letter to the martyrs (*Ad Martyres*) dates from 197 and is the earliest work we have of Tertullian. Certain confessors imprisoned together were, it seems, divided in opinion on subjects which the author does not specify. Tertullian writes to them and exhorts them to keep the peace and face death courageously. The letter, though [118] not entirely free from rhetoric, is delicate in expression and contains many beautiful thoughts.

k) The *De Patientia* is a treatise on individual morality. The word "patientia" must not be taken to mean here what is generally meant by "patience"; Tertullian understood by it the disposition to accept the trials sent by Providence, — persecutions, sickness, insults, etc. The author praises this virtue and shows how it differs from Stoic apathy.

The following works solve social difficulties encountered by Christians in their daily contact with pagans.

l) *De Spectaculis*, c. 200. May Christians frequent the circus, the stadium, the theatre, the amphitheatre and other official spectacles, given, as a rule, on festivals of the gods or in temple precincts, and accompanied by pagan religious ceremonies? "No," says Tertullian uncompromisingly; "no, never!" In fact, he forbids all such amusements in the name of Scripture, because they can hardly be dissociated from idolatry and immorality.

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[1] Name given to Catholics in opposition to the *Pneumatici* (Montanists).

m) The *De Corona* is the solution of a specific case of conscience. A soldier who presented himself before the Emperors to receive a bounty had, according to the regulations, to wear a crown of laurels on his head. In 211, a Christian soldier, who had come to receive the *donativum*, refused to conform to this heathen rite and, when reprimanded, laid down his weapons and was thrown into prison to await death. His zeal was generally blamed as excessive and compromising. But Tertullian cordially approved of his conduct and in the *De Corona* maintained that the crown was an idolatrous and pagan symbol not to be worn by a Christian, and incidentally asserted that military service was incompatible with the profession of Christianity.

n) *De Fuga in Persecutione* is a similar work. Consulted, after 213, by a Catholic Christian as to whether it was allowable to flee during persecution or to pay to the public treasury a sum that exempted one from persecution, Tertullian condemns both these means of escaping danger as equivalent to formal apostasy. Persecution is willed by God, therefore men must bear it.

o) *De Idololatria*. Towards 211-212, Tertullian under took to solve *in globo* all such difficulties as those dealt with separately in the three works just mentioned. Perhaps nowhere better than in this work, *De Idololatria*, has he [119] shown how incapable he was, on account of his temperament, to give a practical solution of a practical problem. To remove from Christians the danger of idolatry, he forbids them not only to manufacture idols and construct temples, but even to be tradesmen, teachers, soldiers or office-holders; he isolates them from social, and even from family life, and almost condemns them to die of hunger. To such results may logic lead when it starts from unsound principles.

p) The *De Pallio*, a witty and bantering bit of rhetoric on a matter of small consequence, which it is difficult to place in any of the preceding categories, owes its origin to the following circumstance. Towards the year 206-208, when Tertullian was already leaning to Montanism, he conceived the idea of putting off the toga and donning the pallium, which was the ordinary garment of philosophers and rhetoricians. People wondered and laughed, and to justify his conduct Tertullian wrote the *De Pallio*.

5. LOST WRITINGS.

Besides the works we have enumerated, there existed other writings of Tertullian known to us either through the author himself or through more recent writers.

a) The *De Spectaculis* and the *De Velandis Virginibus* appeared in Latin, but the author, who wrote Greek fluently, rewrote them in that language.

b) Furthermore, we know from Tertullian himself that he composed in Greek: α) a work on Baptism other than the one we possess; β) *De Spe Fidelium*, against the Jews; γ) *De Paradiso*; δ) *Adversus Apelleiacos*, directed against the followers of Apelles; ε) a book on the origin of the soul, *De Censu Animae*, against Hermogenes; and ζ) on Fate and Chance, *De Fato*.

c) St. Jerome mentions: *De Extasi* (περὶ ἐκστάσεως), a Montanist work written probably in Greek; *Ad Amicum Philosophum de Anqustiis Nuptiarum*, a youthful pastime piece; *Liber de Aaron Vestibus*, a book on the liturgical garments of Aaron; and perhaps a few other writings.

d) Lastly, an ancient catalogue of the works of Tertullian, contained in a manuscript of the ninth century, attributes three other works to him: *De Carne et Anima*, *De Animae Submissione*, and *De Superstitione Saeculi*. [120]

2. ST. CYPRIAN[1]

CAECILUS CYPRIANUS was born at Carthage, probably c. 210, of wealthy but heathen parents. (The name Thascius, which is sometimes given him, is a sobriquet of unknown origin and meaning.) After a thorough and careful education, he entered upon the career of a rhetorician, practiced law, as it seems, soon became

[1] Edition G. HARTEL, in the *Corpus Script. Eccl. Latin*., Vienna, 1868-1871. See FREPPEL, *Saint Cyprien*, Paris, 1865. P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Littér, de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, II, Paris, 1902, and *S. Cyprien* (in the collection *Les Saints*), Paris, 1914. E. W. BENSON, *Cyprian, his Life, his Times, his Work, London*, 1897.

prominent and made the acquaintance of the most distinguished men of Carthage. But temporal prosperity could not satisfy him. About the year 245 he was converted to Christianity by Caecilianus, a venerable priest of Carthage, and his conversion was complete. Soon after, he was ordained a priest and, at the beginning of the year 249, succeeded Donatus in the see of Carthage. His episcopate lasted only nine years, but they were full of activity. The persecution of Decius broke out in 250. As a measure of prudence, and to avoid drawing the violence of the persecutors upon the people by his presence, Cyprian left Carthage and took refuge in the neighboring country. He returned to Carthage in the spring of 251 and at once took up the question of the *Lapsi*, *i.e*., those who had been led by the persecution into a more or less formal apostasy. A happy combination of moderation and severity enabled the Bishop to bring the matter to a successful conclusion. Between 252 and 254 a plague laid waste all Carthage, and in 255 began the quarrel which resulted in a division between Cyprian and Pope Stephen on the question of the validity of Baptism when administered by heretics. The controversy was scarcely ended when a new persecution broke out, in the month of August, 257. Cyprian was exiled to Curubis and remained there for a year. Recalled in 258, he was again arrested, summoned to offer sacrifice to the gods, and, upon his refusal, was sentenced to be beheaded the following day. The official records of his martyrdom are still extant.

A tradition handed down by St. Jerome tells us that St. Cyprian was an assiduous reader of the writings of Tertullian, and that in calling for them it was his habit to say, [121] "*Da magistrum*." However, it would be difficult to conceive of two characters more unlike than Cyprian and Tertullian. Tertullian was violent and passionate, whereas Cyprian had complete mastery of himself, and was patient and well-balanced. His biographer, Pontius, informs us that, whilst Cyprian's dignified address commanded respect, his simplicity, charity, and cordiality endeared him to all. He was prodigiously active, applying himself to every kind of work, yet was never hasty or over-excited. He was a man of authority and deserves to be ranked with such great administrators and popular leaders as Basil, Ambrose, Leo, and Gregory. Through his personal influence Cyprian made his see the center of the entire African episcopate and, although he did not possess the title, he was really their primate.

His literary works reflect the Saint's calm and equable temperament. He seldom aims at nicety of style or at effect, though in spite of his efforts he betrays his African temperament and his training in a school of rhetoric. His sole purpose is to write what will profit his readers. He possesses the harmonious form of a classical writer. His Latin, less rich and expressive than that of Tertullian, is more correct, although at times the influence of post-classical decadence and Africanism is noticeable. His style was greatly admired and often imitated in the following centuries. Though not perfect, he is a good model.

St. Cyprian has left us, besides his letters, thirteen authentic works. They are either apologetic, or treatises on morals and ecclesiastical discipline.

1. APOLOGETICAL WORKS.

a) The *Ad Donatum* is the first of these, composed in all probability shortly after the author's conversion. St. Cyprian depicts in this book the moral transformation effected in his friend by the reception of Baptism and exhorts him to surrender himself completely to divine grace.

b) The *Ad Demetrianum* is entirely different in character. Demetrius, a dissolute and dangerous pagan, was constantly calumniating the Christians and annoying the Bishop by his persistent visits. Finally Cyprian decided to answer him. He first brands him as a base character and then takes up his accusation that the Christians were the cause of the plagues which devastated Africa and the entire world. The [122] real cause of all these evils, he says, is the obstinacy of the heathen, which provokes the anger of God.

Besides these two, we may list among the apologetical works of St. Cyprian also the three following, which are more properly collections of materials and texts.

c) *Quod Idola non sint Dii* (The Idols are not Gods). This work is a compilation of notes, some of which are copied literally from Minucius Felix and the *Apologeticum* of Tertullian and arranged so as to constitute a proof of the fallacy of idolatry and the truth of Christianity. The book was written probably before the

year 250. Although its authenticity has been contested, it is the sort of work that fits in well with what we know of St. Cyprian. The Bishop of Carthage was a very busy man and used to prepare in advance whatever materials he thought he could utilize later, when the opportunity presented itself. We have two other examples of such work, the *Testimonia* and the *Ad Fortunatum*.

d) The *Testimonia ad Quirinum* (249-260), in three books, contains texts from the Old and New Testaments, which show (Bk. I) the provisional character of the Jewish Law, (Bk. II) the fulfilment of the prophecies in Jesus Christ and His divinity, and (Bk. III) treats of faith and Christian obligations and virtues.

e) The *Ad Fortunatum*, written in the autumn of 257, groups together the Scriptural texts relative to the duty of a Christian in time of persecution. It is easy to see the importance of these two compilations for the history of the Latin Bible in Africa before the Vulgate.

2. MORAL AND DISCIPLINARY WORKS.

Foremost among the works of St. Cyprian on morals and discipline must be placed the two treatises *De Lapsis* and *De Unitate Catholicae Ecclesiae*, both of which were read at the Council of 251. The purpose of the first book is to show that, before being reconciled to the Church, the apostates of the Decian persecution must perform a serious penance. The purpose of the second is to prove that there can be in the world, and in each diocese, but one true Church; that in this Church unity is to be obtained by the communion of the faithful among themselves and with the bishop, and that, in consequence, schism is the most serious of crimes. The work was directed against Novatian and his sectaries. [123] At an early date the text was slightly retouched; some critics attribute this revision to St. Cyprian himself.

Among the moral treatises of St. Cyprian, the most original and most impressive is the *De Mortalitate*. It is a sort of pastoral letter, issued during the plague of 252-253, to revive the courage of the terrified inhabitants of Carthage. The *De Opere et Eleemosynis* encourages almsgiving; the *De Zelo et Livore* denounces envy; the remaining treatises — *De Habitu Virginum* (249), *De Oratione* (c. 252), and *De Bono Patientiae* (256) — are poor imitations of corresponding treatises of Tertullian. But while St. Cyprian is inferior to his model in style and method of treatment, he is a better moralist than Tertullian. His examples are truer and his counsels wiser, because he has profited more by experience and is more moderate in his views.

3. LETTERS.

The letters of St. Cyprian constitute the most important part of his work. We know that he himself kept copies of them and classified them according to subjects. Fifty-nine of these letters on dogmatic and disciplinary questions are still extant and all are of great historical interest. Pearson[1] is the first author to attempt to fix the dates of Cyprian's letters, and later critics have hardly modified his conclusions.

3. COMMODIANUS[2] AND ANONYMOUS CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

The question has been often discussed, when and where COMMODIANUS, "the beggar of Christ," as he was accustomed to call himself, lived. It seems certain to us that he lived in Africa and wrote between 251 and 258, during the episcopate of St. Cyprian. He was born of heathen parents, but after having sought the truth from every available source, finally embraced Christianity and received Baptism. In [124] consequence of some sin he had committed, he was obliged to do penance, and though he became a very fervent Christian, always remained a layman. That he was treasurer of the church to which he belonged is a mere supposition put forth in explanation of the title of *gasaeus* that he gave himself. Commodianus was

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[1] *Annales Cyprianici*, 1682.

[2] Edition B. DOMBART, *Commodiani Carmina*, Vindobonae, 1887 (*C. S. E. L.*); French translation and commentary on the *Instructions* by J. DUREL, *Les Instructions de Commodien*, Paris, 1912. See G. BOISSIER, *La Fin du Paganisme*, II; P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Littér, de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, III, Paris, 1905; J. DUREL, *Commodien*, Paris, 1912. On the period in which Commodianus flourished, see A. D'ALÈS, *Commodien et son Temps*, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1911, n^os^ 5 and 6.

a man of independent character, rather blunt in his manner, but distinterested and generous at heart. He was poorly educated, unacquainted with the classics and with philosophy, a kind of self-made litterateur, sprung from the people and writing for them.

The works of Commodianus are peculiar in that they are written in verse, but in verse of a special meter. It was the author's intention to write hexameter verse and, substituting accent for quantity, he strictly observes the pause after the second foot and gives to the last two feet the appearance, at least in pronunciation, of a dactyl and a spondee, but sets at naught the laws of prosody. Out of the 1060 verses which make up the *Carmen Apologeticum*, only 26 are correct. This carelessness is not intentional, for Commodianus was ignorant of the rules of prosody. A sort of vague trace of Virgilian rhythm rings in his ears, and he endeavors to reproduce this as best he can. His style is very imperfect, not because he lacks imagination and life, but because his syntax is incorrect and he is totally ignorant of the art of composition. "His works," says Monceaux, "contain the finest collection of barbarisms the worst Latinist could ever dream of."

Two of Commodianus works are still preserved, — the *Instructiones* and the *Carmen Apologeticum*. The *Instructiones* is a collection, in two books, of eighty poems, each containing 6-48 verses. All these poems, except two, are acrostic, *i.e.*, arranged in such a way that the first letters of the verses, taken in order, form the title of the poem. The first book is written against the heathen and the Jews; the second deals with questions of morals and discipline. The *Carmen Apologeticum adversus Iudaeos et Paganos* is a sort of exposition of the Christian religion. The last part (vv. 791-1060), in which is described the millennium and the end of the world, is the most striking.

Besides a certain number of letters addressed to St. Cyprian, which in some editions have been placed among his own letters, we must include among the writings of the [125] middle of the third century and of the African Church a few anonymous works:[1] *Exhortatio ad Paenitentiam*; *Ad Novatianum*, written by a bishop, c. 253: *De Rebaptismate*, written probably in 256, in defence of the Roman thesis against St. Cyprian; a treatise on Easter (*De Pascha Computus*), 243, which re-edits and corrects St. Hippolytus; *De Laude Martyrii*, 252 or 253, a very poor effort; *De Spectaculis* and *De Bono Pudicitiae*, weak imitations of Tertullian, falsely attributed to St. Cyprian; and lastly a sermon *On the Players* (*De Aleatoribus*), a work which, though full of errors, is nevertheless strong and lively and a beautiful specimen of popular preaching.

4. ARNOBIUS AND LACTANTIUS

1. ARNOBIUS.[2] Very little is known of Arnobius, surnamed the Ancient. He was born c. 255-260, taught rhetoric at Sicca, a small town in Proconsular Numidia, where he had Lactantius for a pupil. Arnobius was at that time a fervent pagan, pious even to superstition, and a declared enemy of the Christian religion. About 295 or 296 he was led rather suddenly to embrace Christianity. This action was a surprise to those about him; so much so that the bishop to whom he applied, fearing dissimulation, exacted a proof of his sincerity before he would admit him among the catechumens. Arnobius furnished this proof by composing the first two books of his treatise *Adversus Nationes*, and then received Baptism. From this time on we know nothing more about him. St. Jerome seems to fix the date of his death in 327.

The only Christian work of Arnobius is his Apology *Against the Pagans* (*Adversus Nationes*), in seven books. In the first two books, written c. 296, he answers those who would make Christianity the cause of all the evils which devastate the Roman Empire. The five other books are polemical. Arnobius assumes the offensive and censures paganism, both official and popular, and its philosophy. Here and there he manifests real ability and broad erudition. [126] Although he has not the genius of Tertullian, he has something of his literary qualities and imitates his bold, rapid, brilliant, and witty style. But he knows very little of the religion he is defending. Christianity for him is a sort of exalted spiritualism. An exaggerated diffidence of

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[1] These works are among the *spuria* of St. Cyprian, edit. HARTEL, III.

[2] Works in *P. L.*, v; better edit. REIFFERSCHEID in the *Corpus* of Vienna, 1875. See P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Littér, de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, III, Paris, 1905; FREPPEL, *Commodien, Arnobe, Lactance*, Paris, 1893.

the power of human reason and a bitter pessimism cause him to depreciate man's powers unduly. His style is frequently over-emphatic, redundant, and even incorrect. Very often Arnobius has not the right notion of the things of which he speaks, and does not employ the correct terms to describe them.

2. LACTANTIUS. Lucius Caecilius Firmianus — Lactantius is merely a surname[1] — was born in the neighborhood of Cirta, or Mascula (Numidia), probably between the years 240 and 250. He completed his studies under the direction of Arnobius, became a master in his turn, and taught rhetoric, first in Africa and then, towards 290, at Nicomedia, whither he had been called by the Emperor Diocletian. It was in the latter city that he became a Christian, c. 300. He passed through the persecution untouched, witnessed in 311 the palinody of the Emperor Galerius, and, in 317 at the latest, was named by Constantine as tutor of his son Crispus. It is probable he never left the court from this time on. The time and place of his death are unknown.

Lactantius, of a calm and well-balanced mind, was a lover of peace and a sincere Christian, who did his work without noise. From the intellectual point of view, he was the type of the rhetorician and scholar. For him to write well is not to express personal ideas in a strong and personal way, but to imitate as closely as possible the great models of Latin antiquity, especially Cicero, by introducing everywhere in his sentences order, measure, and harmony. Lactantius is a classicist; his style is clear and his diction as pure as his subject and the period at which he writes allow; but he is extremely cold and formal. His theology is mediocre; like Arnobius, he almost confounds Christianity with Deism. The only dogma he persistently sets forth is that of Divine Providence.

If we except the works written before his conversion and the two books of *Letters to Demetrianus*, written during the [127] Christian period of his life, but no longer extant, there remain known to us four apologetical, one historical, and probably one poetical work.

Lactantius' best apologetical work is entitled *Divine Institutions* (*Divinae Institutiones*), in seven books. The first of these books seems to have been completed in 307, and the entire work in 311. The author's purpose was to establish the truth of Christianity and to set forth its dogmatic and moral teaching in a form pleasing to cultured minds. To accomplish this he proves in Book I the unity of God and refutes polytheism. In Book II he demonstrates the necessity of a religion and the fact that paganism cannot be the true worship of God. In Book III he shows that philosophy is incapable of giving men the religious teaching they need. He then asks what will give them this teaching, and answers, Christianity. Book IV brings out the truth of Christianity and Books V-VII expose its moral system, its discipline, and its beliefs about the end of the world and the future life.

Lactantius wrote also a sort of introduction to the *Divinae Institutiones*, a small tract entitled *De Opificio Dei*, published probably in the last part of the year 305. Its purpose is to prove the existence of God from the marvelous organism of the human body. The *De Ira Dei* (310-311) is a complement to the *Institutiones* in which Lactantius shows that God punishes sin and rewards virtue. The *Epitome* (after 311) is a summary of all this, or rather a second and much abbreviated edition for those who would not attempt the work in its lengthier form.

In the *De Ira Dei* the author had not completely exhausted the idea of an avenging God; he had merely affirmed the existence of the divine retribution. After the triumph of Constantine he came to realize that the vengeance of God upon the persecutors of the Church was manifest and striking, and this led him to write, between 314 and 320, the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. This sketch is at once historical and apologetical,—a history, remarkable for its accuracy, of the successive events and in particular the persecutions from the beginning of the reign of Diocletian until 313; an apology which points to the wretched deaths of the imperial tyrants as a just punishment for their cruelties. It has been denied that Lactantius is the author of the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, chiefly because there is a contrast between the cold [128] and regular style of Lactantius and the colored and lively one of the *De Mortibus*. However, this contrast may be sufficiently

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, VI, VII; better edition BRANDT and LAUBMANN in the *Corpus*, Vienna, 1890-1897. See R. PICHON, *Lactance*, Paris, 1901; P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Litt de l'Afr. Chrét.*, in, Paris, 1905.

accounted for by the special nature of the subject and the passion created by the terrible record of the last persecution even in his habitually calm mind.

A short poem is attributed to Lactantius, entitled *De Ave Phoenice* (*On the Phenix*) which relates the myth of this bird as it was current in the fourth century. This ascription is probable, though not certain.

5. Roman Writers — St. Hippolytus[1]

Christian literature in third-century Rome has two chief representatives, Hippolytus and Novatian.

Few memories have been so obscured by myth and legend as that of St. Hippolytus. It is only lately that it has been found possible to describe, even in a very imperfect way, the career of this mysterious personality.

It is thought that he was born towards 170-175, — where, we do not know. He calls himself a disciple of St. Irenaeus, but this may easily be understood of his intellectual training through books written by the Bishop of Lyons. However this may be, St. Hippolytus appears c. 212 as a presbyter of the Roman Church and a recognized scholar. Origen, who came to Rome at this time, had the opportunity of hearing him. At this date Zephyrinus was pope, and Callixtus his adviser. Hippolytus did not agree with their solution of the doctrinal difficulties raised by Patripassianism. The accession of Callixtus to the papacy, in 217, brought about a complete break. Hippolytus opened a schism and set up a rival church, of which he became the bishop. This situation lasted for eighteen years, until 235, when the persecution of Maximinus broke out. This was directed especially against the heads of the Church. Without discriminating between the two rivals, the pope and the anti-pope, the Emperor ordered both Pontianus, the second successor [129] of Callixtus, and Hippolytus to be seized and deported to the unhealthful island of Sardinia, where they both soon died. Before his departure, Hippolytus had confessed his fault, re-entered the true fold, and recommended his followers to seek reconciliation. Hence, there was nothing to prevent his recognition as a true martyr, and as such the Church honors him. The *Depositio Martyrum*, inserted in the Liberian Catalogue of 354, gives August 13 as the day of the burial of his body on the Via Tiburtina — "*Ypoliti in Tiburtina et Pontiani in Callisti*"; but it does not say in what year. It is not likely, however, that the statue of Hippolytus, discovered near his burial place in 1551, was erected to his memory by the official Roman Church; more probably it was erected by his followers, either during his lifetime, or shortly after his death.

Judging from the number and variety of his works, St. Hippolytus was a man of high talent. His mind embraced all the forms of sacred science, — exegesis, apology, dogma, moral, discipline, history and geography, perhaps even religious poetry. However, he is, above all, an exegete. Inferior to Origen in erudition and penetration, he resembles him in his taste for allegorical interpretation, but is more sober and more rational. Notwithstanding all this, Hippolytus is a Western theologian. He fought side by side with Tertullian against the Gnostics and the Sabellians. As a preacher and a homilist he shows true oratorical ability. Photius found his style clear, elegant, and unaffected. Yet St. Hippolytus thought very little about writing well; he was careful about his ideas and doctrines, and the cadence of his sentences was natural rather than acquired. We must add, however, that, on many points, we can judge of his talent only in an imperfect way. St. Hippolytus wrote in Greek, although he lived in Rome at a time when Latin was fast displacing Greek as the language of the Roman Church. This circumstance, joined to the memory of his unhappy schism, is responsible for the loss of most of his writings.

We have the titles, and in some cases the texts, of about 35 works of St. Hippolytus. This list is furnished partly by a catalogue engraved on his statue and partly by Eusebius, St. Jerome, Theodoret, Photius, and

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[1] Edited by Fabricius very incompletely in *P. G.*, X. For the Scriptural works espec., edit. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis, *Hippolytus' Werke*, I (in the *Schriftsteller* of Berlin), Leipzig, 1897. For the *Philosophoumena*, ed. P. Cruice, Paris, 1860, or else *P. G.*, xvi (among the works of Origen), P. Wendland, in *Hippolytus' Werke*, III. Band, Leipzig, 1916. For the *Chronicles*, edit. Bauer (*Texte und Unters*.. xxix, 1), Leipzig, 1905. See A. d'Alès, *La Théologie de S. Hippolyte*, Paris, 1906.

other authors. His works may be divided into Scriptural, controversial, apologetical and dogmatical, historical and chronological, and disciplinary and hortatory works. [130]

1. SCRIPTURAL WORKS.— The Scriptural works of St. Hippolytus are not, as a rule, cast in the form of continuous commentaries. They are rather homilies on selected passages of the sacred text. He has treated in this way certain parts of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Ruth, I Kings, Psalms, Isaias, and Ezechiel and commented upon the whole of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Daniel, and Zacharias. Of all these commentaries only a few fragments remain. The Commentary upon the Canticle of Canticles has been preserved in part and the Commentary on Daniel almost entirely. The latter, written c. 204, is the most ancient Scripture commentary we know of.

In the New Testament, St. Hippolytus seems to have explained only a few texts here and there. His only continuous work is a Commentary on the Apocalypse, mentioned by St. Jerome,[1] of which a few passages are preserved.

2. CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.— Against the heresies of his time, taken collectively, St. Hippolytus wrote two works. The first, which Photius calls an abridged refutation of 32 heresies (Σύνταγμα κατὰ αἱρέσεων λβ'), is lost, but the bulk of it is embodied in the writings of pseudo-Tertullian, Philastrius, and St. Epiphanius, who all borrowed from it. The second, Κατὰ ποσῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος, whose abbreviated title is *Philosophoumena*, has been preserved entire. The author's plan is admirable. He says he purposes to explain all the systems of Greek wisdom and philosophy and to examine the different systems of heretics and show that they borrowed their errors from the philosophers. The heretics thus appear as the successors of the pagan philosophers and the champions of perverted reason against divine wisdom. The work is written exactly as it was planned. Of its ten books, I-IV (we no longer possess II and III), deal with the philosophers and astrological theories; Books V-VIII expound and refute Christian heresies down to that of the Encratites; Book IX deals with Noetus and Sabellius and describes the author's quarrel with Zephyrinus and Callixtus; and Book X is a recapitulation of the whole work. The part about the philosophers is not very strong. Doubts have been raised by some critics (Salmon, Stählin) about the value of the heretical documents analysed by St. Hippolytus, in particular the comparisons he establishes between the heresies and the philosophical systems of Greece, which seem often fanciful [131] and overdone. The *Philosophoumena* are later than the year 222; perhaps they were written in the last years of the author's life.

Besides these two compositions of general interest, we have a very important fragment, *Against Noetus*, which, together with the *Adversus Artemon* cited by Eusebius,[2] seems to have been part of a more extensive work against the Monarchian heresy. We are acquainted also with a refutation of Marcion (πρὸς Μαρκίωνα), probably identical with the book *On Good and Whence Comes Evil;* and a treatise *On the Charismata*, probably aimed at Montanism. The work *On the Gospel of St. John and the Apocalypse* was directed against the Alogi; the *Capita adversus Caium* ascribe the authorship of the Apocalypse to St. John the Evangelist. There remain a few citations from each of these writings.

3. APOLOGETIC AND DOGMATIC WRITINGS.— The only dogmatic writing of St. Hippolytus, in fact the only one of which we have the complete text is the *Demonstration according to the Holy Scriptures of that which Concerns Christ and the Antichrist*, generally known as *De Antichristo*. It was written c. 200 and depicts in a graphic manner the various circumstances surrounding the coming brief triumph and downfall of the Antichrist.

The following are either completely lost or are known to us only through citations: an apology *Against the Greeks and against Plato*, or *On the Universe*, in two books[3]; *To the Empress Julia Mammaea*, *a Discourse on the Resurrection*, probably identical with the work *On God and on the Resurrection of the*

[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 61.

[2] *H. E.*, v, 28, 1.

[3] Photius, Cod. 48.

Flesh, inscribed on his statue and mentioned by St. Jerome;[1] an *Exhortation to Severina;* a treatise on the Incarnation, mentioned by Abedjesu; and a *Demonstration against the Jews*, of doubtful authenticity.

4. HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL WORKS.— The inscription on the statue of Hippolytus mentions two of these works. The first is entitled *Chronicles* (Χρονικά). We already possessed a few Latin recensions of this work, but recently a part of it has been discovered in the original Greek. It was a kind of compendium of profane and sacred history and geography, compiled from the books of that period and of very little scientific value. The second comprised a reckoning of the date of Easter and a Paschal Canon [132] (Ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ πίνακι). This book is divided into two parts: a theoretical introduction, in which Hippolytus explains his Paschal computation and justifies it, and tables or canons which give the result of his calculations. Part of these Paschal tables have been engraved on the chair in which the figure of Hippolytus is seated. Hippolytus started with the false assumption that a period of sixteen years corresponds to an entire and fixed number of lunary months, and that consequently Easter falls on the same date every sixteenth year, — an error of three days, — so that it was necessary in 242-243 to correct his calculation. Later it was given up entirely. It is commonly believed that he made it c. 224.

5. DISCIPLINARY AND HORTATORY WORKS.— Among the disciplinary writings of St. Hippolytus we must mention the two attributed to him by St. Jerome, on the questions: *Should we Fast on Saturday?* and *Should we Receive the Eucharist Every Day?* Besides these, we have in an Arabic translation a collection of 261 canons, which claim to be the work of Hippolytus. These *Canones Hippolyti*[2] are of the utmost importance for the history of Christian institutions; but they cannot, at least in their actual form, be considered the work of the great Roman doctor. As to the *Odes on all the Scriptures*, we know nothing more about them than the title given in the statue catalogue.

This summary review of the writings of St. Hippolytus confirms what has been said at the beginning about his versatility.

6. NOVATIAN AND THE POPES OF THE THIRD CENTURY

The early life of Novatian[3] is known to us principally through the letters of Pope Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch, extracts of which are furnished by Eusebius.[4] Born probably in Italy, perhaps at Rome, Novatian was for some time thought to be possessed by the devil and was exorcised. Then, falling into a serious illness, he received Baptism of the [133] sick (*clinicorum*) without episcopal consignation (*i.e.* with out confirmation) — a circumstance which made him irregular for ordination. But Novatian was endowed with remarkable intellectual qualities and, in spite of the opposition of the clergy and many laymen, the then pope, Fabian, (or perhaps Pontian), ordained him to the priesthood, and in 250 we find him holding a prominent position at Rome. It was he who, during the vacancy of the Holy See, wrote to St. Cyprian, in the name of the Roman clergy, letter xxxi and, almost certainly, also letter xxxvi among those ascribed to the Bishop of Carthage. Hence Novatian might well have hoped to succeed Fabian, but the choice of the clergy and the people fell on Cornelius (March, 251). Embittered by this disappointment, Novatian sought espiscopal consecration from three rural bishops and set up a schismatical church, which was still flourishing in the Orient in the fifth century. After this break, nothing more is heard of Novatian. Socrates,[5] says he died a martyr's death in the persecution of Valerian (257-258), but this information is not trustworthy.

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 61.

[2] Latin translation by HANEBERG, reproduced by H. ACHELIS, *Texte und Unters.*, vi, 41, Leipzig, 1891, and by L. DUCHESNE, *Origines du Culte chrétien*, 3rd edit., Paris, 1902.

[3] Works in *P. L.*, III. For the *De Trinitate*, edit, of W. YORKE FAUSSET, Cambridge, 1909. For the letters edit, of St. Cyprian by HARTEL.

[4] *H. E.*, vi, 43.

[5] *H. E.*, iv, 28.

St. Jerome,[1] without pretending to enumerate all the works of Novatian, relates that he wrote on Easter, on the Sabbath, on Circumcision, on the (high) Priest, on prayer, on Jewish meats, on persecution, on Attala, and on the Trinity. Of all these writings there remain only two letters to St. Cyprian, the *De Trinitate* and the treatise *De Cibis Judaicis,* just mentioned.

The letters were written in 250-251 to inform St. Cyprian of the opinion of the Roman clergy regarding the *lapsi*. That opinion is, on the whole, in conformity with that of the Bishop of Carthage.

The *De Trinitate*, Novatian's masterpiece, was written before 250. It is a commentary on a formula of faith shorter than the Apostles Creed, yet longer than the simple baptismal formula. Chs. 1-8 treat of God and His perfections, the creation, and the Mosaic revelation; chs. 9-28, of Jesus Christ, true man and true God, and His personal distinction from the Father; ch. 29, of the Holy Spirit and His action in the Old and New Testaments; chs. 30-31 return to the Father and the Son, to show that they are but one God. The *De Trinitate* was the first work written at Rome on a theological subject in Latin. It was written in a logical order [134] and clear style, and was long esteemed as the model work of its kind.

The *De Cibis Judaicis* is a schismatic work of Novatian. It is a kind of pastoral letter, addressed to the Novatian community, in which he explains allegorically the distinction of meats among the Jews. We cannot but notice certain philosophical ideas which confirm what St. Cyprian said about the author's Stoical turn of mind.

No composition worthy of note has been left us by the POPES OF THE THIRD CENTURY. All we have is a few letters or fragments. Among the more important documents must be mentioned the edict of Pope Callixtus (217-222), mentioned above; a few letters of Pope Cornelius (251-253) to St. Cyprian and to Fabius of Antioch; the letters of Pope Stephen (254-257) to St. Cyprian and the churches of Asia Minor on the question of Baptism by heretics; and finally the letter of Pope Dionysius (259-268) to Dionysius of Alexandria on the divinity of Jesus Christ.

7. WRITERS OF GAUL AND PANNONIA — VICTORINUS OF PETTAU

The only Gallic writer of the third century known to us is RETICIUS of Autun. He was bishop before 313, for he was present in that year at a council held in Rome under Pope Miltiades, and, in the month of August, 314, at the Council of Aries, which dealt with Donatism. Some authors give 334 as the year of his death.

St. Jerome[2] was acquainted with two of Reticius writings: a *Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles*, the style of which he highly appreciated, though he thought the matter was mediocre[3]; and a large work *Against Novatian*. It was perhaps from this latter that St. Augustine borrowed the citations he makes of Reticius in the *Contra Julianum* (I, 7) and the *Contra Julianum Opus Imperfectum* (I, 55). Both works of Reticius have disappeared.

Time has dealt more kindly with the work of VICTORINUS,[4] bishop of Pettau in Upper Pannonia (now Hungary). Victorinus was probably a Greek by birth, for St. Jerome [135] says that he knew Greek better than Latin.[5] It was in Latin, however, in an obscure and halting style, that he wrote, towards the end of the third century, a number of works of which St. Jerome had a very poor opinion, for he says that the author had more good will than skill.[6] Victorinus died a martyr, probably in the persecution of Diocletian, 303-311.

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 70.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 82.

[3] *Epist*. xxxvii.

[4] *P. L.*, v and J. HAUSSLEITER, *Corp. Script. Eccles. Latinorum*, XLIX, Vienna, 1916. See two articles by D. MORIN in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, VII (1906).

[5] *Vir. Ill.*, 74.

[6] *Epist.*, lxx, 5.

His work is in the main exegetical. He wrote commentaries upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaias, Ezechiel, Habacuc, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, the Apocalypse and St. Matthew, or at least upon certain passages from them. Outside of a few meagre indications, nothing remains of all this work except the end of the commentary on the Apocalypse, discovered in 1895. Victorinus was a firm believer in the millennium.

Besides these commentaries, St. Jerome mentions a treatise *Adversus Omnes Haereses*, which is identified by some critics with the *Libellus Adversus Omnes Haereses* printed with the *De Praescriptione* of Tertullian; but this identification gives rise to difficulties.

As to the opinion of D. Morin, that the Muratorian Fragment, the famous catalogue of New Testament books discovered in 1740, might well in its actual form be the work of Victorinus, it is so far only a hypothesis, which requires further confirmation before it can be accepted.

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APPENDIX TO PART I

The Acts of the Martyrs[1]

At a very early date the Christian communities began to gather accounts of the sufferings and death of the martyrs, to honor their memory and foster piety. These "acts" were copied and passed on to the neighboring churches and constitute what we call the *Acta Martyrum*. Their importance, both for apologetics and for history, may be easily understood; hence it will not be useless to say a word about them here.

The *Acts of the Martyrs* may be divided into three groups. There are first the "acta" properly so called, *i.e.*, the *official* records of the trial and condemnation of martyrs, drawn up by notaries of the court before which they appeared. These documents, generally curt and dry, are rather scarce. However, we have a few which Christians either copied or provided with a short introduction and conclusion, both of which can be easily distinguished from the official document that forms the body. Such are, for example, the Acts of St. Justin and Companions, those of St. Cyprian, etc. It is evident that these are documents of the first order.

The second group comprises *unofficial narratives,* written by eye-witnesses or other contemporaries. Such is the account of the death of St. Polycarp, written the day after his death in the name of the Christians of Smyrna, and that of [137] the sufferings of the martyrs of Lyons, sent by the churches of Lyons and Vienne to the churches of Asia and Phrygia. Although these acts are unofficial, they are not inferior in authority to the first group and are equally reliable.

Finally, we have acts which are neither official documents nor the work of eye-witnesses and contemporary writers, but *later accounts*, written often several centuries after the events which they narrate. These are the most numerous and plainly cannot claim the same authority as those of the first two groups. Yet it can be readily understood that their authority may vary widely and depends upon the value of the traditions or accounts reproduced and the fidelity with which they are reproduced.

Immediately after the persecution of Diocletian, c. 312, Eusebius had written the history of the martyrs who suffered in Palestine during this persecution and appended it to his Church History. We still possess this account. Later, he had set himself, before the year 303, to collect whatever authentic accounts he could find of the martyrs of the first three centuries. Unfortunately, this collection, to which he often alludes, has disappeared; it is by other means that some of the documents it contained have come down to us.

For the persecution of the first three centuries we find about 40 acts of martyrs. They belong to the first two groups, for even where their actual form is that of a later period, they are redactions and reproduce at least a part of the primitive acts.[2] We will mention among the oldest and best known only the *Martyrium Sti Polycarpi* (155-157), already spoken of; the *Acta SS. Carpi, Papyli et Agathonices* (d. 161-169), the account of an eye-witness; the official *Acta S. Justini et Sociorum* (d. 163-167); the *Epistula Ecclesiarum Viennensis et Lugdunensis* on the martyrs of 177, written in 177 or 178; the *Acta Martyrum Scilitanorum* (d. July 17, 180), another first-hand account if not the official record; the *Acta S. Apollonii* (d. 180-185), inserted in his collection by Eusebius[3]; the *Acta SS. Perpetuae el Felicitatis* (d. probably Mar. 7, 203), the

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[1] The authentic Acts of the ancient martyrs have been gathered by Th. Ruinart, *Acta Primorum Martyrum Sincera et Selecta*, Paris, 1689, often reprinted. Certain pieces should be suppressed in this collection and recently discovered ones introduced. Two collections of select acts have been furnished by O. von Gebhardt, *Ausgewählte Märtyreracten*, Berlin, 1902, and by R. Knopf (same title) Tübingen, 1901. French translation published by D. H. Leclercq: *Les Martyrs, Recueil des Pièces Authentiques ... depuis les origines du christianisme jusqu'au XX siècle*, Paris, 1902. See A. Dufourq, *Études sur les Gesta martyrum romains*, Paris, 1900-1907. Id., Article *Actes des martyrs grecs et latins* in the *Dictionnaire d'Hist. et de Géogr. Ecclésiastique*, I. P. Delehaye, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*, Paris, 2e ed., 1906; (Engl. tr. by Crawford); *Les Origines du Culte des Martyrs*, Brussels, 1912.

[2] A complete list may be found in Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Literatur*, II, 615-641.

[3] *H. E.*, v, 21, 5.

long recension of which, made by an eye-witness, is the most ancient; the *Acta Proconsularia S. Cypriani* (d. Sept. 14, 258), an official court record, etc. [138] In all these accounts — contrary to more or less legendary ones — the attitudes of judges and martyrs are what they must have been in reality, the magistrates apply the law, often reluctantly and only because they feel themselves obliged to do it, and the Christians simply die for their faith without boast or recrimination.

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SECOND PERIOD

THE GOLDEN AGE OF PATRISTIC LITERATURE (313-461)

The period from Eusebius to St. Leo is justly regarded as the Golden Age of Ancient Ecclesiastical Literature. At no other period of the Patristic age did Christian literature reach such high perfection and Christian writers achieve such brilliant renown. Foremost among the causes which led to this result was the genius of the writers themselves, favored by external conditions. With the freedom enjoyed by the Church after the year 313, came greater opportunities of study for Christians, magnificence of sacred edifices and ceremonies, and a more literate and better educated public, which demanded from writers and orators a more cultured and polished language. There was now less need of caution against the heathen classics, stripped of their intellectual influence by the fall of paganism; and, as a consequence, there followed — at least in the writings of some authors — that union of classical form and Christian doctrine which has ever since been the characteristic of great literature. Finally, the controversies of this period dealt with matters of paramount importance, and naturally roused to the highest pitch the minds engaged upon them. All these conditions contributed, from both the theological and the literary point of view, to make this period what it became and what it remained for nearly a century and a half, — the Golden Age of Patristic Literature.

In this great movement, if we except St. Augustine, the Greeks occupy the first rank, owing to their speculative turn of mind, more refined culture, more flexible language, and greater originality. They little knew and little utilized the writings of the Latins, whereas the latter knew, translated, and utilized to a great extent those of the Greeks. And yet [140] it is a remarkable fact that the formulas adopted to close all controversies were, in the end, Latin formulas. Rome and the West, with their positive turn of mind, with one word put an end to discussions which Greek subtlety would have dragged along indefinitely.

The various kinds of literature are all represented in the long series of works we shall have to enumerate: exegesis, dogma, apology, polemics, liturgy, discipline and moral preaching, and asceticism. History makes its appearance with Eusebius, and religious poetry with Juvencus and Prudentius. In the latter field the Latins precede and even surpass the Greeks. Let us speak first of the Greeks.

The Greek writers of the fourth and fifth centuries are divided, according to divergent tendencies, into two distinct schools: those belonging to the school of Alexandria, who cultivate allegorism in exegesis and Christology and insist on the unity of Jesus Christ; and those belonging to the school of Antioch, who endeavor to seek out the literal meaning of the Scriptures and study by preference the human side of our Savior. These tendencies, carried to excess, led a few of the representatives of both schools into heresy, but they were kept within proper limits by the best among all these authors. The writers of Asia Minor occupy an intermediary place between these two schools; the Cappadocians, however, belong by their training rather to the school of Alexandria.

From a geographical point of view the Greek authors are divided, as has just been insinuated and was noted in the preceding section, into Alexandrian and Egyptian writers, writers of Asia Minor and Thrace, and writers of Antioch and Syria. We shall follow this division, treating in addition the heterodox and, finally, the Syriac writers of this period.

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SECTION I

GREEK HETERODOX LITERATURE

1. THE ARIANS

I. ARIUS was born, probably in Libya, towards the middle of the third century (256?). After studying under the martyr Lucian at Antioch, we find him, in 313, in charge of the Church of Baucalis at Alexandria. Naturally gifted and well educated, austere and grave in his deportment, he rapidly gained the popularity which he later abused. It was in the year 318 that he seems to have given utterance for the first time to the errors about the Logos which bear his name: the Λόγος is a created being, not eternal, differing from the Father in substance, and subject to change. Condemned by a council held at Alexandria, 320-321, he was forced to go into exile, withdrawing first to Palestine, then to Nicomedia, the home of Bishop Eusebius, his former schoolmate. He was condemned again at the Council of Nicea (325) and banished by the emperor to Illyricum; he succeeded, however, in getting back into Constantine's favor and was about to be solemnly reconciled with the Church when he died suddenly at Constantinople, in 336, over eighty years of age.

The most famous of Arius writings is that entitled *A Banquet* (Θάλεια), composed at Nicomedia between 321 and 325. It is apparently a combination of prose and poetry, popular songs for travellers and workingmen, written to spread his errors among the people. Only a few citations have reached us through St. Athanasius.[1] But we possess the complete text of two letters of Arius, one to Eusebius at Nicomedia, written c. 321,[2] the other to the bishop of Alexandria, Alexander, written shortly before the Council of Nicea.[3] Finally, Socrates[4] and Sozomen[5] have reproduced [142] the profession of faith made by Arius to Constantine in 330 or 331.

2. ASTERIUS. The doctrine of the heresiarch had scarcely been promulgated when it found an ardent supporter in the sophist Asterius of Cappadocia, who, like Arius, was a former disciple of Lucian of Antioch. St. Jerome relates[6] that Asterius composed, under the Emperor Constantius, commentaries on the Psalms, the Gospels, the Epistle to the Romans, and other writings held in esteem by his school. To the last, no doubt, belongs a collection of texts (συνταγμάτιον) intended to prove that the Λόγος is a created being, a few passages of which St. Athanasius quoted and answered.[7] Marcellus of Ancyra also attacked this work and elicited a reply from Asterius.[8] Apart from the citations of Athanasius the work of this sophist has disappeared.

3. EUSEBIUS OF NICOMEDIA. Another of Arius' first partisans was Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, who in 339 became bishop of Constantinople. He was one of the ablest yet least conscientious men of his time. His correspondence must have been enormous, but there remains of it only one letter to Paulinus of Tyre, preserved by Theodoret.[9]

After the Council of Nicaea, Eusebius was the real political head of the Arian party, and up to 341-342, the date of his death, succeeded in keeping it fairly well united. After his death, however, and especially after 356, doctrinal differences began to appear, which had until then remained concealed, the necessities of the strife preventing them from coming to the surface. Three sects were formed: (a) *pure Arians* or *Anomeans*,

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1 *Contra Arianos*, i, 5, 6, 9; *De Synodis*, 15.

2 St. Epiphanius, *Haer*., lxix, 6.

3 St. Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 16, and St. Epiphanius, *Haer*., lxix, 7, 8.

4 *H. E.*, i, 26.

5 *H. E.*, ii, 27.

6 *Vir. Ill.*, 94.

7 *Contra Arianos*, i, 30-34; ii, 37; iii, 2, 60; *De Decretis*, 8, 28-31; *De Synodis*, 18-20, 47.

8 *Vir. Ill.*, 86.

9 *H. E.*, i, 5. Eusebius of Caesarea, the historian, will be treated at length later.

who proclaimed the Son to be unlike the Father (*anomoios*); (b) *Semi-Arians*, who rejected the *homoousios*, but came as near as possible to orthodoxy in the substance of their doctrine, looking upon the Word as like the Father in substance and in all things (*homoiousios*); and (c) the group called *Homeans*, who, being mainly political, did not commit themselves to either view, but were satisfied with the vague statement that the Son was like the Father (*homoios*). [143]

4. PHOTINUS, bishop of Sirmium in Pannonia, belonged to the first group, although he was rather a disciple of Paul of Samosata. Nothing remains of his works. The real leaders of this sect, however, are Aëtius and Eunomius.

5. AËTIUS was born either in the city of Antioch, or in its neighborhood, and, after practicing several professions and following a course in Aristotelian dialectics with great success, he was ordained deacon (c. 350) by Leontius, bishop of Antioch. His logical mind could not adapt itself to the ambiguous formulas of the Eusebians, and hence he embraced Arius principles and carried them to their limit: God is necessarily one and could not engender a Son; the "son" is merely a perfect creature. Such frankness could not but displease politicians. Driven from every city and exiled several times, Aëtius was at length consecrated bishop, without any determined see, under Julian (361-363). He died in 367. We have one of his writings, entitled *On God Unengendered and on the Engendered* (Συνταγμάτιον περὶ ἀγέννητον θεοῦ καὶ γεννητοῦ), a series of 47 short arguments to prove that what is engendered cannot be God. It is difficult to imagine a more uninteresting work than this. St. Epiphanius, who preserved it,[1] declares that Aëtius composed 300 such "syllogisms." Socrates[2] attributes to Aëtius a number of letters. Only one of them is known through the "*Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*.[3]

6. EUNOMIUS, originally from Cappadocia, was a disciple of Aëtius. He was made a deacon at Antioch and c. 361 be came bishop of Cyzicus. Eunomius wrote several letters as well as a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. All are lost. We have a work of his entitled, *An Apologetical Book* (Ἀπολογητικός), composed about 362 and refuted by St. Basil; his answer to St. Basil's refutation, entitled, *Apology of the Apology*, written probably in 379, fragments of which have been preserved by St. Gregory of Nyssa; and lastly a Profession of Faith (Ἔκθεσις πίστεως), presented to Theodosius in 383.[4]

7. Other members of the Anomean group are EUDOXIUS, bishop first of Antioch (358) and then of Constantinople (360-369), and [144] GEORGE, bishop of Laodicea between 331 and 335. The first was the author of a treatise *On the Incarnation*, two fragments of which are extant, and of some *Scholia* on the Psalms. The second wrote letters, one of which has been preserved,[5] a biography of Eusebius of Emesa, analysed by Socrates, and finally a treatise against the Manicheans, no longer extant.[6]

8. The leader of the second group, the Semi-Arians, was BASIL, bishop of Ancyra, who succeeded Marcellus in this see, in 336, and died c. 366.[7] We have from this author a long doctrinal memorial written in 358 and preserved by St. Epiphanius.[8] A second memorial copied out by St. Epiphanius[9] is also his work. Besides these writings, St. Jerome[10] says he wrote *Against Marcellus* and *On Virginity*. The *Contra*

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[1] *Haer*., lxxvi, 11.

[2] *H. E*., ii, 35.

[3] Edit, by Diekamp, 311-312.

[4] *Patr. Graeca*, xxx, 835-868; SOCRATES, *Hist. Eccl*., v, 10, note of the Valois edition.

[5] Sozomen, *H. E*., iv, 13.

[6] St. Epiphanius, *Haer*., lxvi, 21.

[7] See J. SCHLADEBACH, *Basilius von Ancyra*, Leipzig, 1898; F. CAVALLERA, *Le "De Virginitate" de Basile d'Ancyre*, in the *Revue d'Hist. Ecclés*., VI (1905), 5-14.

[8] *Haer*., lxxiii, 2-11.

[9] *Ibid*., 12, 22.

[10] *Vir. Ill*., 89.

Marcellum is lost. F. Cavallera thinks the *De Virginitate* identical with a work of the same title addressed to Letoius and attributed to St. Basil.[1] During his life, Basil of Ancyra was esteemed as a scholar.

9. For some time he counted among the members of his party EUSTATHIUS, bishop of Sebaste,[2] concerning whom critics have wrangled much of recent years. Eustathius was born c. 300 at Sebaste, and at length came, in 357, to occupy that see. In doctrine he was inconsistent. He was a typical ascetic, the true founder of monachism in Asia Minor and the teacher of St. Basil, though he later became his enemy and calumniator. His writings are lost, but it is certain that the *Epistula ad Apollinarem … De Divina Essentia*, as well as the letters ccclxi-ccclxiv inserted in the correspondence of St. Basil are spurious writings, whose authors were Eustathius and his friends.

10. Another Semi-Arian was EUZOIUS, an intruder in the see of Caesarea, installed there in 376, in the place of Gelasius. St. Jerome[3] says he composed numerous and [145] well known writings on various subjects. This is all we know about him.

11. Between the Anomeans and the Semi-Arians comes, as we have said, a political group without any specified doctrine, the Homeans. The leader of this group was ACACIUS, successor of Eusebius at Caesarea (340-366), who continued to enrich the library founded by Origen. St. Jerome[4] attributed to him a commentary in 17 books on Ecclesiastes, 6 books of miscellanies and several other treatises. St. Epiphanius cites a work of his against Marcellus of Ancyra[5] and Socrates[6] was acquainted with a panegyric written on his predecessor, Eusebius. Of his Scriptural works there remain only a few scattered fragments in the "*Catenae*."

12. Two other bishops of Homean tendencies were THEODORE OF HERACLEA and EUSEBIUS OF EMESA.

Theodore was consecrated c. 335 and died c. 355. According to St. Jerome,[7] who praises the elegance and clarity of his style and his literal method of exegesis, he was the author of commentaries on St. Matthew, St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Psalms. Some are inclined to believe that he commented also upon Isaias. Only citations from his works remain.[8]

EUSEBIUS, who studied successively at Edessa, Antioch, and Alexandria, had a highly cultured mind. He refused the see of Alexandria but accepted that of Emesa in Phoenicia, which he occupred from 341 to 359, or thereabouts. He gave little attention to dogmatic questions. St. Jerome[9] speaks of him more as an elegant rhetorician and a commentator, attached by his principles to the school of Antioch. Among his exegetical writings are generally mentioned *Questions on the Old Testament* and a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, in ten books. His treatises comprised writings against the pagans, Jews, Novatians, Marcionites, and Manicheans, a book *On Faith*, and a *Benediction upon the People*. His homilies are his most remarkable works; a number are known only by their titles, a few are still extant, but an edition of his works has yet to be made. Almost all of the writings attributed to him are spurious, [146] and the authentic fragments to be found in the "*Catenae*" are often difficult to identify.[10]

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[1] *P. G.*, xxx, 669-810.

[2] F. LOOFS, *Eustathius von Sebaste*, Halle a. S., 1898, and the article EUSTATHIUS in *Realenzykl. für prot. Theol.*, v, 627-630.

[3] *Vir. Ill.*, 113.

[4] *Vir. Ill.*, 98.

[5] *Haer.*, lxxii, 5-10.

[6] *H. E.*, ii, 4.

[7] *Vir. Ill.*, 90.

[8] See *Patr. Graeca*, xviii, 1307 and xxix, p. ccv.

[9] *Vir. Ill.*, 91.

[10] *Patr. Gr.*, LXXXVI, i. Cf. BARDENHEWER, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Liter.*, III, 263.

13. The Arians were not content with pleading their case in tract, homily, and letter; their historians, too, endeavored to present in as favorable a light as possible the events in which they were interested. It is known that SABINUS, the Semi-Arian bishop of Heraclea, wrote a history (now lost) of the fourth-century councils, from that of Nicaea to those held under Valens (364-378).[1] Socrates was acquainted with his writings and accuses the author of misstating facts. Other anonymous writings were turned to account by the Eunomian PHILOSTORGIUS.[2] Philostorgius himself composed, in twelve books, a Church history of the period from Arius to the end of the year 425.[3] This work is entirely lost, but long fragments of it have been preserved by Photius,[4] as well as in later documents. It is more a plea for Arianism than an impartial history, yet it is of value because of the information it gives about contemporary thought.

2. APOLLINARIS AND HIS DISCIPLES[5]

APOLLINARIS, born c. 310, was the son of Apollinaris the Elder, a priest and professor of grammar at Laodicea in Syria. The young man received a splendid education, familiarized himself with Aristotelian dialectics, and began to teach rhetoric, at the same time performing the ecclesiastical functions of a lector. A strict advocate of Nicene doctrine, he received Athanasius into his home when the latter returned from exile in 346, and, c. 360-361, he became bishop of Laodicea, or rather of the Orthodox Christians there, for [147] the Arians had chosen Pelagius as their bishop. It was at this time that he began to spread his error. It was in direct opposition to the exaggerated diophysitism of Diodorus of Tarsus, and consisted essentially in saying that there never existed a rational human soul in Jesus Christ, but that the Word took its place. Thus the Word was substantially united to the body of Jesus Christ and, in the opinion of the author, this union alone could account for Christ's being truly one. In 362, this teaching was examined by the Council of Alexandria, but, thanks to his well-known Trinitarian orthodoxy, it was only in 373 that Apollinaris was seriously suspected of heresy. Condemned by Pope Damascus, in 377, his system was rejected by the General Council held in 381. It is commonly thought that Apollinaris died between 385 and 392.

Ancient writers unanimously looked upon Apollinaris as a remarkably gifted man and an ardent and uncommonly erudite scholar in both profane and sacred sciences, pious and virtuous above the least suspicion. On the questions of *nature* and *person* he lacked a clear insight into certain distinctions which were accurately defined only at a later date, and which would have prevented him from falling into Monophysitism. He has the honor of being the first to raise the Christological problem.

Apollinaris was a fertile writer, as we shall see. The remains of his works have reached us, partly under his own and partly under borrowed names. This can be explained by the fact that, after the issuance of the imperial decrees commanding the destruction of his books, his followers, in order to preserve them, put a number of them into circulation under the names of orthodox writers, such as Popes Julius and Felix, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Athanasius, etc. St. Cyril of Alexandria became the dupe of this fraud, and his authority contributed not a little to lend it weight. However, after the Council of Chalcedon people began to suspect the truth, and in the sixth century an unknown author, thought by some to have been Leontius of Byzantium, unmasked the trick in a book entitled *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum*. This critical work, taken up again in our own day, has facilitated to a great extent the discernment of the works of Apollinaris under the false ascriptions they bear.

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[1] See P. BATIFFOL, *Sozomène et Sabinos*, in *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, VII, 1898.

[2] See P. BATIFFOL, *Un Historiographe anonyme arien du IVe siècle*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, ix, 1895.

[3] Edit. J. BIDEZ, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte*, in the collection *Schriftsteller*, of Berlin and Leipzig, 1913. See P. BATIFFOL, *Quaestiones Philostorgianae*, Paris, 1891.

[4] Cf., Bibl., codex 40.

[5] Scriptural works in MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VII, Romae 1854; M. FAULHABER, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschr*., Freiburg i. B., 1899. Polemical and dogmatical works in H. LIETZMANN, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, I, Tübingen, 1904. See G. VOISIN, *L'Apollinarisme*, Louvain, 1901.

1. EXEGETICAL WORKS.— St. Jerome, who, in 374, received [148] some lessons from Apollinaris, attributes to him "countless works on the Holy Scriptures."[1] In fact, he repeatedly mentions a commentary on Ecclesiastes, one on Isaias, two on Osee, one on Malachias, others on other prophets, one on St. Matthew, one on the I Epistle to the Corinthians, one on the Epistle to the Galatians and one on the Epistle to the Ephesians. These commentaries, usually very brief, explain the text literally and attempt to bring out in particular the moral lessons. Only a few citations and fragments remain, and even these have not all been gathered together or edited.

2. APOLOGETICAL WORKS.— We know of two apologies by Apollinaris: one was a refutation of Porphyry in 30 books; the other, a refutation of Julian the Apostate entitled *De Veritate*. The latter has entirely disappeared; St. Jerome praises the former and has preserved one fragment of it.[2]

3. POLEMICAL AND DOGMATICAL WORKS.— The earliest polemical and dogmatical works of Apollinaris were written in defence of the Trinitarian doctrine. He had written *Adversus Eunomium*[3] against Marcellus of Ancyra,[4] once or twice *Against Origen* and *Against Dionysius of Alexandria*. The two latter attacks were probably directed against Subordinationism, of which these two authors were accused. All these writings are now lost.

During the second period of his active life, Appollinaris began an attack on the Christological teaching and wrote three treatises against the doctors of Antioch: *A Syllogistic Discourse against Diodorus* (Λόγος συλλογιστικός κατὰ Διοδώρου); a second work against Diodorus (Πρὸς Διόδωρον ἤ κατὰ κεφάλαιον βιβλίον), divided into chapters; and a third *Against Flavian*, probably the future bishop of Antioch. But few passages remain of all these works, mostly from the second.

In a third and last series of writings Apollinaris puts forward his own teaching, and it is especially to these that names of other authors have been attached. They are: (1) a detailed profession of faith (Ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις), written in 380 and preserved under the name of Gregory Thaumaturgus; (2) a treatise *On the Union in Christ of His Body with the Divinity*, [149] preserved under the name of Pope Julius; (3) a short work *On Faith and the Incarnation or Against the Opponents*, preserved in Syriac also under the name of Pope Julius; (4) a work *On Unity*, in at least two books, of which only one fragment remains; (5) a treatise *On the Incarnation* (Περὶ σαρκώσεως), of which six fragments are preserved by Theodoret; (6) another work, also entitled On the Incarnation (Περὶ σαρκώσεως) or, as Leontius of Byzantium entitles it, Εἰς ἀπόδοσιν τῆς ἀποτάξεως καὶ τῆς πίστεως, of which two citations remain; (7) a homily on the Divine Materity of the Bl. Virgin (Μαρίας ἐγκώμιον καὶ περὶ σαρκώσεως) (two citations); (8) a Demonstration of the Incarnation of God in the Image of Man (Ἀπόδειξις περὶ τῆς είας σαρκώσεως τῆς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἀνθρώπου), one of Apollinaris' most important works, written probably between 376 and 380, of which we possess numerous citations and a detailed analysis in the "*Antirrheticus contra Apollinarium*" of St. Gregory of Nyassa; (9) a treatise *On the Manifestation of God in the Flesh* (two fragments); (10) a short treatise *Against Those who Say that the Word Assumed a Human Body* (one fragment); (11) some *Syllogisms*, cited by more recent authors; (12) a *Recapitulation* (Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις), containing a series of syllogisms which establish that Jesus Christ is true God; (13) a book cited by the title of *Discourse*; (14) another comprising a number of *Dialogues*; (15) *letters* to Peter and to Julian (little of these remains); one to the Emperor Jovian, written in 363 and bearing the name of St. Athanasius; one to Serapion of Thmuis, c. 371 (three fragments); one to Terentius, c. 375 (two fragments); one to the Egyptian bishops exiled at Diocaesarea, c. 374, entirely preserved; two to Dionysius, probably a disciple of Apollinaris, the first preserved under the name of Pope Julian; and finally a synodal letter (τομος συνοδικός), attributed to Apollinaris with sufficient probability.

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 104.

[2] *In Daniel.*, ix, 24.

[3] St. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.*, 120.

[4] *Ibid.*, 86.

4. POETICAL WORKS.— Socrates relates[1] that, when Julian the Apostate forbade Christians to study the pagan classics, the two Apollinarises, father and son, set to work to write on Christian subjects, and especially on the Bible, a series of books in which they endeavored to copy as closely as possible the classical models. It was thus that Apollinaris the Younger, according to Sozomen, composed an epic poem on Jewish antiquities, tragedies, comedies, and lyric songs [150] after the style of Euripides, Menander, and Pindar, as well as liturgical songs and sacred hymns for the private use of the Christians. All these have disappeared. A paraphrase of the Psalms in verse, attributed to him[2] is hardly his work.

Several disciples of Apollinaris have left writings which have been found under false ascriptions. Very few of these writings, however, have reached us in their complete text. Among the latter the following deserve mention: (1) a profession of faith from VITALIS, addressed to Pope Damasus and current under the name of Pope Julius; (2) a letter of TIMOTHY to Prosdocius, current under the same name; (3) a profession of faith from Bishop JOBIUS; (4) a work of VALENTINE against Timothy and Polemon; (5) an encyclical by an unknown author, attributed to Pope Julius; (6) an anonymous *Exposition of Faith*, the pretended work of one of the councils of Antioch convoked against Paul of Samosata; (7) a treatise entitled *Christ is One*, claiming the authorship of St. Athanasius; (8) a work *On the Incarnation of the Word of God*, also under the name of St. Athanasius; (9) a third letter, supposedly by Pope Julius; and (10) a treatise *On Faith*. The last two are preserved in Syriac. The writings of the other known disciples of Apollinaris, Polemon, Eunomius, Julian, and Homonius exist only in a few fragments and citations.

3. NESTORIUS AND THE NESTORIANS

NESTORIUS, born at Germanicia c. 380, studied first at Antioch and there embraced the religious life, entering the neighboring monastery of Euprepios. After his ordination, he applied himself with success to preaching. No doubt this is what gained him the attention of Theodosius II, for, after the death of Sisinnius of Constantinople, the Emperor chose Nestorius as that patriarch's successor (428). The new bishop soon disappointed the hopes he had aroused. Condemned for his Christological errors by Pope Celestine, in 430, he was again condemned and deposed by the Council of Ephesus, in 431. He then re-entered his convent of Euprepios and remained there until 435, when he was exiled, first to Petra in Arabia, and next to Oasis in Egypt. He died, c. 450 or 451, before the Council of Chalcedon. [151]

The first writings of Nestorius[3] were homilies We have the complete text of four of these and fragments of about thirty others; ten of his letters are preserved entire, besides some fragments. All this was written between 429 and 443. In 430 or 431 he replied to St. Cyril's *Anathematisms* with twelve counter-anathemas, preserved in a Latin translation by Marius Mercator. After his condemnation he made an attempt to justify his position in three apologies: the *Theopaschite*, written 431-435, (a few fragments still extant); the *Tragedy* or *History*, written a little later, (one fragment); and, after 449, *The Book of Heraclides*.[4]

Nestorius' friend and protector at Ephesus and at the court of Theodosius II was the Count IRENAEUS, who, after a first exile in Petra, became bishop of Tyre c. 445 and died between 448 and 451. He had recorded, c. 437-438, the events in which he had taken part, in a work in three books, entitled *Tragedy*. This is now lost, but it is cited in an anonymous fourth-century Latin translation entitled the *Synodicon adversus Tragoediam Irenaei*.[5]

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[1] *H. E.*, iii, 16.

[2] *P. G.*, xxxiii, 1313-1538.

[3] The information concerning Nestorius up to the year 1905 has been gathered together and edited by F. LOOFS, *Nestoriana*, Halle, 1905. For the *Livre d'Héraclide*, edited by P. BEDJAN, Paris, 1910, use F. NAU, *Nestorius, Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas, traduit en français*, Paris, 1910. See M. JUGIE, *Nestorius et la Controverse Nestorienne*, Paris, 1912. F. NAU, *Nestorius d'après les Sources Orientates*, Paris, 1911.

[4] Doubts have been raised concerning the authenticity or at least the integrity of this latter writing.

[5] *Patr. Gr*., LXXXIV, 549-864, and *Bibl. Cassinensis*, t. 11, 49 ff.; *Floril*., p. 5-47.

The other early friends of Nestorius, — John of Antioch, Theodoret, etc., called the Orientals, — were rather personal friends than partisans, and eventually became reconciled to Cyril of Alexandria. Among the firm supporters of this heresy should be mentioned EUTHERIUS, bishop of Tyana, who was afterwards deposed and died at Tyre, c. 435. We have several of his letters as well as important fragments of a great work against the "Scholia" of St. Cyril on the Incarnation. Photius,[1] who attributed this work to Theodoret, says it comprised twenty-seven articles. So far, editions have comprised only seventeen, entitled *Confutationes quarumdam Propositionum;* certain other parts have been discovered recently.[2]

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SECTION II

THE WRITERS OF ALEXANDRIA AND EGYPT

1. ST. ATHANASIUS

We have already spoken of Arius and his errors. These errors encountered a ready opponent and an inflexible judge in ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria (313-328).[3] There exists a collection of homilies written by Alexander, traces of which are to be found in a few Syriac fragments. There is, besides, one complete fragment in the *Sermo de Anima et Corpore deque Passione Domini*. Two encyclical letters from the pen of this bishop, addressed to the other bishops concerning the heresy and condemnation of Arius, are also extant. The first, which bears the erroneous heading "*From Alexander of Constantinople*," written probably c. 322, is given by Theodoret;[4] the second, somewhat later, is given by Socrates.[5] Both are very important for the history of dogma.

Alexander was succeeded, June 8, 328, by Athanasius. St. ATHANASIUS[6] was born in the city of Alexandria, probably in 295. His parents were heathen, but he must have been converted at an early age, for towards 318-320 we find him a deacon of Bishop Alexander, whom he accompanied to the Council of Nicaea, in 325. From the moment of his episcopal consecration his history is mingled with that of Nicene orthodoxy. A marked opponent of the Arians, he was five times exiled:— first to Treves by Constantine at [153] the end of 335 or in the beginning of 336, returning to Alexandria Nov. 23, 337; — the second time, by Constantius, Mar. 19, 340, when the intruder, Gregory of Cappadocia, took possession of his see; he was able to re-enter Alexandria only on Oct. 21, 346, after the death of the intruder; — the third time, he was deposed by the synods of Aries and Milan and forced to flee before the soldiers of Constantius, Feb. 9, 356, re-entering Alexandria Feb. 21, 362, after the Emperor's death. But Julian the Apostate soon found him troublesome and Athanasius was again compelled to with draw, this time into the Thebaid desert, Oct. 24, 362, to return to his see in less than a year, Sept. 5, 363. Finally, by order of the Emperor Valens, Athanasius was again compelled to travel the road of exile, Oct. 5, 365. But he remained away for only a short time, for Valens, confronted with the many troubles his measures had occasioned, judged it opportune to recall the old champion. Athanasius returned Feb. 1, 366, and was permitted to live in peace until his death, May 2, 373.

Athanasius was first and foremost a man of character. It would be hard to find another man so determined, so inflexible, and yet so noble. Thoroughly convinced that the cause for which he was fighting was the cause of truth, and that sooner or later God makes truth triumph, the Bishop of Alexandria never wavered

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[1] *Codex* 46.

[2] *Patr. Graeca*, XXVIII, 1337 (among the *spuria* of St. Athanasius) and G. FICKER, *Eutherius von Tyana*, Leipzig, 1908.

[3] Writings in *P. G.*, XVIII; see also D. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, IV, 199-200; 433-434.

[4] *H. E.*, i, 3.

[5] *H. E.*, i. 6. To be found in a piece entitled "*Deposition of Arius and his Abettors*," which must have originated at the Council of Alexandria, 320-321.

[6] Works in *P. G.*, XXV-XXVIII. See J. A. MOEHLER-J. COHEN, *Athanase le Grand et l'Église de son Temps*, Paris, 1840. E. FIALON, *Saint Athanase*, Paris, 1877. F. CAVALLERA, *Saint Athanase* (Collect. *La Pensée Chrétienne*), Paris, 1908. G. BARDY, *Saint Athanase* (Coll. *Les Saints*), Paris, 1914.

or compromised on the question at stake, nor did he despair of or doubt the final victory even during the darkest hour of the strife. Yet he never depended for final victory on a miraculous intervention of Providence, for he did all that human power could do to assure it. Endowed with the soul of a martyr, he did not desire to be a martyr to no purpose. Attacked and calumniated, he defended himself; pursued and tracked down, he fled. To unswerving conviction he joined diplomacy; he knew how to bide his time, restrain his zealous friends, and speak in accents of conviction to those who wavered. He was a true leader, whose authority was never contested.

From the literary point of view, St. Athanasius was not, like Basil or Gregory of Nazianzus, a refined and learned writer, nor did he possess their knowledge of the classics. Yet he was a man of clear mind, who knew what he had to say, and put his whole soul into saying it. His composition, firm, precise and without vain ornamentation, is remarkable for the logic which binds together his thoughts. Indeed, [154] many of his works are nothing more than pleadings in which facts and documentary evidence play a great part. Athanasius carefully took note of the smallest events and preserved all documents issued by the different parties, bringing them out at the proper time, each in its place, to confound and confute his opponents. This eloquence of facts was well-suited to a man who never wrote simply for the sake of writing, and all of whose works were deeds.

Finally, on the theological side, Athanasius, bent on bringing about the triumph of the truth of the *consubstantiality* of the Son, adheres simply to the dogma, avoiding all speculations and theories, which would have served only to complicate his exposition and the defence he proposed. He never dreamed, like Origen, of a synthesis or scientific system of religious truths, but meditated profoundly upon the teachings he developed, understanding fully their intimate relations with the rest of the Christian economy. For him, a dogma is not a purely metaphysical truth: it is a truth whose supernatural influence must be reflected in every-day life.

The wide renown of St. Athanasius has caused to be attributed to him many writings which did not come from his pen, or the authenticity of which is doubtful; these will be spoken of in their proper place. In his genuine works we may distinguish exegetical, apologetical, dogmatic and polemical, moral, disciplinary, and epistolary writings.

1. EXEGETICAL WRITINGS. — Antiquity was acquainted with many exegetical writings of St. Athanasius. St. Jerome mentions a *Liber de Psalmorum Titulis*; Photius, a commentary on *Ecclesiastes* and another on the *Canticle of Canticles*. A few fragments on *Job* have come down to us in the "*Catenae*." The only remaining part of Athanasius exegetical writings is a series of passages of an *Exposition on the Psalms*,[1] in which the author lays special stress on the moral and mystical sense. The *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* given under his name[2] is unauthentic.

2. APOLOGETICAL WRITINGS. — To this class belong probably the most ancient of St. Athanasius writings, namely the *Oratio contra Gentes* (Λόγος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων) and the *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi* (Λόγος περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Λόγου). At first these two treatises were parts of one homogeneous work. In the former the author explains the origin [155] of idolatry (1-10), refutes the different forms under which it appears (11-29), and points out how man can come to the knowledge of the true God and of the Word through the knowledge of his spiritual soul (30-34) and by perceiving the external world (35-47). In the latter, *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, Athanasius deals first with the purpose of the Incarnation, which is to repair our nature by restoring to it both immortality and the knowledge of God it had lost; from ch. 33 on he briefly outlines a direct demonstration of the truth of Christianity by the fulfilment of the prophecies (33-40) and the moral renovation of the world, one of the fruits of the new religion (41-55). It is generally admitted that these books were written from 318-320.

[1] *P. G.*, xxvii, 55-590; PITRA, *Analecta Sacra*, I, pp. 3-20.

[2] P. G., xxviii, 283-438.

3. DOGMATICO-POLEMICAL WRITINGS. — Foremost among the dogmatico-polemical writings of St. Athanasius are the *Orationes contra Arianos*. Actual editions indicate four *Orationes*, but only the first three are authentic. They defend against the Arians the definition of the Council of Nicaea. The first discourse, or λόγος, refutes objections from Scripture and reason against the eternity, divine generation, and immutability of the Word. The second is almost completely devoted to the explanation of the famous text of Proverbs viii, 22: "*Dominus creavit me*," to which both heretics and orthodox attached supreme importance. The third and most remarkable discourse resumes the solution of objections and explains the unity of nature between the Father and the Son; then, broaching the question of the mystery of the Incarnation, shows that we could not attribute to the Word *in se* the infirmities of human nature which He took upon Himself. The Maurists fix the date of composition for these discourses between 356 and 362; other authors (Cavallera) advance it to 347-350, or even (Loofs) to 338-339.

Just as the authenticity of the fourth Discourse against the Arians has been rejected, so doubts have been raised concerning the treatise *On the Incarnation of the Divine Word and against the Arians*,[1] the treatise *On the text:* "*All things are given to me by the Father*,"[2] and an *Exposition of the Faith*[3] which summarizes the beliefs on the Son both before and after His Incarnation. However, the reasons [156] against the authenticity of these writings are not conclusive. This is not the case, however, for the *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto*,[4] extant only in Latin and written in the East; the *De Incarnatione contra Apollinarium*,[5] in two books, which probably date from 380; the *Sermo Major de Fide*,[6] which is nothing more than a subsequent compilation; the *Interpretatio in Symbolum*;[7] the two treatises *De Incarnations Dei Verbi*;[8] and the *Quod unus sit Christus*,[9]— all works of Apollinaris and his school. As for the Creed "*Quicumque vult*," called *Symbolum Sti Athanasii*, it is a Latin compilation of the fifth or sixth century and is certainly not the work of the Bishop of Alexandria.

4. HISTORICO-POLEMICAL WRITINGS.— We have already stated that it was as much by facts as by ideas that St. Athanasius carried on the war against the Arians. Among his historico-polemical writings should be mentioned the *Apology against the Arians*, c. 348, in which he sums up the events that had taken place since 330; a work *Against Valens and Ursace*, mentioned by St. Jerome,[10] but now lost; an *Apology to the Emperor Constantius*, of about the middle of the year 357, in which the author clears himself of the charge of having favored the intruder Magnence; finally, the *Apology for his Flight*, written about the same time, in which he justifies his conduct under persecution. While defending himself personally, Athanasius also defends his predecessors and his work; he points out to the Semi-Arians the pit to which the Anomeans are leading them. In the letter *De Sententia Dionysii* he proves that the Arians are wrong in claiming the support of Dionysius of Alexandria; in the *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* he explains why and how the Council adopted the words ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας and ὁμοούσιος in the *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleuciae in Isauria Celebratis*, written in 359, one of his longest and most important works, he reviews the history of these two lamentable councils and sides with Basil of Ancyra and his party. Finally, the *History of the Arians for the Monks*, 358, unfortunately mutilated by copyists, was a kind of resumé, for the use of the monks, of all the discussions created by this heresy from the very beginning up to the year 357. [157]

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[1] *P. G.*, xxvi, 983-1028.

[2] *Mt.*, xi, 27; *P. G.*, xxv, 207-220.

[3] *P. G.*, xxv, 199-208.

[4] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1191-1218.

[5] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1093-1166.

[6] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1263-1294.

[7] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1231-1232.

[8] *P. G.*, xxviii, 25-30.

[9] *Ibid.*, 121-132.

[10] *Vir. Ill.*, 17.

5. MORAL AND DISCIPLINARY WRITINGS.— The best known of St. Athanasius' works of edification is the *Biography of St. Antony*, generally conceded to be authentic. It is more a collection of memoirs and a sketch of the ascetical life of the Saint than an orderly biography. Its success was prodigious. The Maurists think the work was written c. 365; other critics date it back to 357-361. St. Antony died in 356.

The authenticity of the treatise *De Virginitate*[1] has been contested. One difficulty encountered by critics, which is found in other writings as well, is the use of the word ὑπόστασις in the exclusive sense of *Person*, whereas for St. Athanasius it is rather synonymous with οὐσία or *substance*. Bardenhewer recognizes the work as authentic and places its composition at the end of the author's life, between 353 and 373.

The authenticity of other writings, e.g., a *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem* and some *Ecclesiastical Canons* discovered in 1904 under the name of Athanasius, together with a whole series of homilies,[2] is not at all sufficiently guaranteed.

6. LETTERS.— The letters of St. Athanasius are all the more important as some of them are veritable treatises. Such are, for instance, the *De Sententia Dionysii*, the *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, and the *De Synodis*, already mentioned. Such are also several letters we shall now speak of.

In St. Athanasius correspondence we must distinguish:

(1) *Synodal letters*, written in the name of the Councils of Alexandria whose decisions they publish. We have three of these: the *Tome to the Christians of Antioch*, issued by the Council of 362; the *Letter to the Emperor Jovian*, sent in the name of the Council of 363; and finally the *Letter to the Africans* in the name of the Council of 369.

(2) *Encyclical letters*, addressed to the bishops personally by St. Athanasius, in which he defends himself against the calumnies of his opponents. Such are the *Epistula ad Episcopos Encyclica*, written about April, 340, and the *Epistula Encyclica ad Episcopos Egyptiae et Libyae contra Arianos*, 356-357.

(3) *Dogmatical letters*. The purpose of the letter to Serapion of Thmuis, 356-362, was to defend the divinity [158] of the Holy Ghost. The letters to Epictetus of Corinth, Adelphius and Maximus the philosopher, 370-371, deal with the Incarnation and refute certain erroneous ideas spread by the Arians and the Apollinarists.

(4) *Moral letters and letters of edification*, such as those addressed to a monk named Amunes, to Bishop Rufinian, to Dracontius, and to Marcellinus. The letter to the monks[3] warns the hermits against Arian intrigue. The two letters to Lucifer of Cagliari [in Sardinia],[4] extant only in Latin, if they are not altogether spurious, at least exaggerate the thought of St. Athanasius.

(5) *Festal letters*. Thirteen of these are preserved complete in a Syriac translation.[5] They are important for the chronology of the author's life. One, number 39, written in 367, a large fragment of which has been preserved, contains a complete canon of the books of the Bible.

In short, the writings of Athanasius were numerous and varied, but all had a single main object, *viz*., the defence of the faith.

2. DIDYMUS THE BLIND[6]

Another champion of the faith at Alexandria was DIDYMUS THE BLIND. Born at Alexandria in 313, he lost his sight when only four years old. Thanks to an insatiable thirst for knowledge and an indomitable

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[1] *P. G.*, xxviii, 251-282.

[2] *P. G.*, xxviii, 133-250; 905-1114.

[3] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1185-1188.

[4] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1181-1186.

[5] *P. G.*, xxvi, 1351-1444.

[6] Works in *P. G.*, xxxix. See G. BARDY, *Didyme l'Aveugle*, Paris, 1910.

application, he soon found himself ranked among the most learned men of his time. St. Antony, Palladius, Evagrius Ponticus, St. Jerome and Rufinus all came to hear him and learn from him. He was respected by the Arians themselves. After a life devoted entirely to prayer and work, he died very calmly, in 398, at the age of 85.

Besides being a learned man, Didymus was an ascetic of deep piety, whose knowledge turned very readily into love. The tone of his controversy is kindly, well-balanced, and calculated to win an opponent rather than defeat him. His style, however, is spiritless and prolix. Obliged by reason of his blindness always to dictate, he experiences difficulty in condensing and correcting his thoughts. He was undoubtedly [159] a moderate Origenist, but one that retained too well the errors of his master. This circumstance has left a stain upon his memory, for his name appears side by side with that of Origen in the condemnation passed upon the latter, in 680, by the sixth general council. This condemnation is, no doubt, one reason why his works have been so little preserved.

His exegetical work has nearly all disappeared, yet it was very voluminous. Didymus commented, either entirely or in part, upon Genesis, Exodus, I Kings, Isaias, Jeremias, Osee, Zacharias, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Job, the Canticle of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, St. Matthew, St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians and the Catholic Epistles. Only a few fragments, more or less extensive, are left of all these writings. The Commentary on the Catholic Epistles, translated into Latin at the suggestion of Cassiodorins, under the name of Didymus, seems to be merely a later compilation of texts selected from different authors.

The dogmatic work of Didymus was no less extensive. It comprised notably a *Volumen Dogmatum*, cited by Didymus himself[1] and perhaps identical with the *Sectarum Volumen*;[2] a treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*; a short tract *On the Death of Little Children*; *Two Books against the Arians*; the *Adversus Eunomium*; probably another on the Holy Ghost; three books *On the Trinity*; some *Commentaries on Origen's Periarchon*; *Against the Manicheans*; several treatises entitled respectively *To a Philosopher*, *On the Incorporeal, On the Soul, On Faith, On Providence*, and perhaps others. Of all these works, outside of a few fragments or citations, there have been preserved only the two works on the Holy Ghost and the Trinity and part of the treatise against the Manicheans. It has been attempted to identify several of the other works enumerated with certain analogous writings of the same period which we possess, but so far no decisive conclusions are possible.

The treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, written against the Pneumatomachi, is extant only in St. Jerome's Latin translation, completed in 389. As St. Ambrose copied abundantly from Didymus when composing, in 381, his own work *De Spiritu Sancto*, it is evident that Didymus' work is prior to that date. The three books *De Trinitate* have come down to us in the [160] original text, but in only one manuscript and with a few omissions. The first book deals with the divinity of the Son, the second with that of the Holy Ghost, and the third with the objections of Arians and Manicheans against these two truths. The work was written probably between 380 and 392.

The attribution to Didymus of the fragment of the tractate *Against the Manicheans* has been contested, but in all probability wrongly, since Didymus maintains towards this heresy a constant vigilance and seizes every opportunity to attack it. However, his refutation of it by Scripture and reason offers nothing very remarkable.

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[1] *De Spiritu Sancto*, 32.

[2] Ibid., 5, 21.

3. St. Cyril of Alexandria

The immediate successor of St. Athanasius in the See of Alexandria, Peter II (373-381), and his second successor, Timothy (381-385), left no important works. But his third successor, Theophilus (385-412),[1] the uncle of St. Cyril, certainly must have written a great deal. Theophilus was an influential man, endowed with great intelligence and energy, although unfortunately he made these brilliant qualities subservient to his pride, cupidity, and malice. The illegal deposition of St. Chrysostom will always remain a stain upon his memory. Among his works are mentioned or cited a Paschal canon extending from 380 to 479, exegetical and oratorical fragments, and especially letters. Some of the latter have been preserved entire in Greek or in Latin translations by St. Jerome. Such are the Festal Letters of 401, 402, and 404, written against Origen and Apollinaris, and a Synodal Letter, written probably in 399 to the bishops of Palestine and the bishops of Cyprus against Origenism. It is regrettable that St. Jerome should have put such trust in a man so little worthy of it.

Theophilus was followed in the See of Alexandria by his nephew Cyril.[2] Very little is known about Cyril's childhood and youth. He was born at Alexandria, probably c. 370-375, [161] got his education in its Christian schools, and then, it seems, withdrew for a time into the desert to live with the monks. He took part in the "Synod of the Oak" with his uncle, in 403, and succeeded him in 412, but not without strong opposition. Those who opposed him probably feared to see the uncle rule again in the nephew, and a few over-severe measures which Cyril took, as well as some unfortunate incidents, seemed at first to justify their position and were exploited against the new patriarch. It was only in 417 that St. Cyril caused the name of St. Chrysostom to be replaced in the diptychs of the Alexandrian Church. His real work, and the important part he played in the Church, began in 428 or 429, with the outbreak of Nestorianism. Nestorius had scarcely formulated his errors when Cyril refuted them, invited the heresiarch to retract, and, upon his refusal, appealed to Pope Celestine. He presided at the Council of Ephesus, in 431, and brought about the complete triumph of the cause of orthodoxy, which was his own. Yet he was unable at first to overcome the resistance of John of Antioch and the Oriental bishops. A reconciliation was effected only in 433, but it was an uncertain peace, which it was necessary to justify and defend against the extremists of both parties. Cyril devoted the last years of his life to this work and died June 27, 444.

It would be very unfair, in judging St. Cyril, to take into account only the accusations of his opponents and the hatred to which his conduct gave rise. He was by nature domineering and impatient, and the example set by his uncle served but to develop these traits. Experience and divine grace tempered these disagreeable qualities little by little and helped him to control them. When the peace of the Church required it, he was ready to sacrifice his personal ideas and to accept even the suspicion of his friends, in order not to prolong the break with his opponents. In penetration and force of mind he ranks first among the Greek Fathers. Among the Latin Fathers he is second to none but St. Augustine. He was a thorough theologian, of great penetration and accuracy of judgment, and with a power of application that doubled the worth of his natural gifts. Thus his influence was great and his authority officially recognized. As a writer he does not rank so high. Forcible and precise in polemics and purely doctrinal discussions, his style elsewhere is verbose, affected, and obscure. He was acquainted with neither the [162] art nor the simple eloquence of good writers; in fact, literary Byzantinism commences with St. Cyril.

The many works of St. Cyril comprise exegetical, apologetical, and dogmatico-polemical writings, homilies and letters.

1. Exegetical Works. — We may place first among the exegetical writings of St. Cyril the 17 books *On the Adoration and Worship of God in Spirit and in Truth*, a mystical interpretation of Jewish laws and institutions. In it he undertakes to prove that these laws and institutions were abrogated only in the letter

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[1] Works in *P. G.*, LXV, 33-68, very incomplete. Cf. Pitra, *Iuris Ecclesiastici Graccorum Historia et Monumenta*, I, 646-649; F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnat. Verbi*, p. 180-183.

[2] Works in *P.G.* LXVIII-LXXVII; more might be added. See A. Largent, *Études d'hist. ecclés., S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1892. J. Mahé, article S. Cyrille in the *Dict. de théol. catholique*.

and not in the spirit. These general views are completed by 13 books of "*Elegant Comments*" (γλαφυρα) on selected Pentateuchal passages (7 books on Genesis, 3 on Exodus, 1 on Leviticus, 1 on Numbers and 1 on Deuteronomy). We possess from him a complete commentary on Isaias, in 5 books, and a commentary on the twelve minor prophets, with fragments on the Books of Kings, the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, Jeremias, Baruch, Ezechiel, and Daniel. Cyril's exegesis of these books is allegorical. Literal interpretation is given greater prominence in his commentaries on the New Testament. The principal of these are that on St. John, in twelve books, two of which are now lost, and a commentary on St. Luke, originally in 156 homilies, almost entirely preserved in Syriac. A few other fragments remain of explanations of St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. St. Cyril's writings on the Old Testament antedate the year 428, as apparently does also the commentary on St. John; his other writings are of a later date.

2. APOLOGETICAL WRITINGS. — The apologetical work of St. Cyril is represented by his treatise *Against Julian*, a refutation of the books of the apostate against the Christians. The work was composed at the earliest in 433, and must originally have included 30 books; only the first 10 have reached us entire, together with a few Greek and Syriac fragments of the others. Conforming to Origen's method, Cyril places before his reader the text of his opponent and follows him step by step with his own arguments.

3. DOGMATICO-POLEMICAL WRITINGS. — Two dogmas in particular claimed the attention of our author, namely the Trinity and the Incarnation. To the first he devoted two great treatises, the "*Treasure*" (*Thesaurus*) *On the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity*, [163] in 35 propositions, and the *Seven Dialogues on the Trinity*, which represent the orthodox Trinitarian teaching of c. 420-425, when they were written. A briefer work, *De Sancta et Vivifica Trinitate* [1] is spurious.

More numerous and important are Cyril's writings on the Incarnation. Immediately after the beginning of the Nestorian conflict, Cyril hastened (430) to warn the imperial court against the error by addressing to it three memorials: *The Book of the True Faith to the Emperor Theodosius* and *The Two Books of the True Faith to the Queens*, *i.e*., the Emperor's wife and sisters. The dialogue *De Incarnatione Unigeniti* is nothing more than a recast of the memorial addressed to the Emperor. To this same year, 430, belong the five books *Against the Blasphemies of Nestorius*, which blasphemies were contained in a collection of sermons published by the heresiarch. The twelve "Anathematisms," added by Cyril to his Synodal Letter xvii, were also defended by him against the attacks which they called forth. For this purpose he wrote, in 430, the *Apologeticus pro XII Capitibus adversus Orientales Episcopos* and the *Apologeticus contra Theodoretum pro XII Capitibus*. In 431 took place the Council of Ephesus. Warned against Cyril, Theodosius kept him under surveillance. The patriarch took advantage of this compulsory rest to compose, at the urgent request of the Council, a third apology of the "Anathematisms," entitled "*Explicatio Duodecim Capitum Ephesi Pronuntiata*," and on his return to Alexandria (Oct. 31, 431) justified his entire conduct by a memorial to the Emperor, entitled *Apologeticus ad Imperatorem Theodosium* (431). It is easy to fix the date of all these writings. Others of a less personal character seem to belong to the same period, or at least deal with the same Christological controversy; such are the *Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti*, now extant for the most part only in a Latin version by Marius Mercator; the *De Incarnatione Dei Verbi*; the dialogue on the unity of Jesus Christ, *Quod unus sit Christus*; and two brief works on the divine maternity, *Quod Sancta Virgo Deipara sit et non Christipara* and *Contra eos qui Sanctissimam Virginem Nolebant Confiteri Deiparam*.

Besides these writings, we have a few fragments of a work *Against the Synousiasts* (Apollinarists), of another in 3 books *Against Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia* [164] and others. Photius[2] seems to mention and cite a treatise of St. Cyril's addressed to Theodosius against the Pelagians. The genuineness of the treatise *De Incarnatione Domini* and of the work against the Anthropomorphists is denied with good reason.

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[1] *P. G.*, lxxv, 1147-1190.

[2] *Cod.*, 54.

4. HOMILIES. — Twenty-nine *Homiliae Paschales* or *Festal Letters* of St. Cyril have been preserved; they deal with dogmatic and moral subjects, according to circumstances. Six other homilies were delivered by him at Ephesus on the occasion of the Council of 431, and a seventh at Alexandria, in 433, when a reconciliation was effected with John of Antioch. Other discourses ascribed to him are either spurious or doubtful.

5. LETTERS. — The letters of St. Cyril are even more important than his homilies. The edition of his works gives 88, of which 17 are addressed to him. Most of them were written after the year 428. About 15 are dogmatical letters, in which the author defines, explains, and defends his doctrine, and about 50 others are valuable for the history of the Nestorian controversy and the Council of Ephesus. A small number deal with disciplinary questions.

A Paschal table, drawn up by St. Cyril between 412 and 417 and extending from 403 to 512, is now lost; only its letter of envoy, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius II, is preserved in Armenian.

4. LESS IMPORTANT AUTHORS — BISHOPS AND MONKS

Athanasius, Didymus, and Cyril are the three great theologians of the Church of Alexandria at the period we are now studying. Other less important authors, however, also flourished in Egypt.

Among the bishops we name first of all SERAPION, the friend of St. Athanasius and St. Antony, and bishop of Thmuis from before the year 339 until 360.[1] St. Jerome praises his refined mind[2] and attributes to him a work entitled [165] *Against the Manicheans*, almost entirely extant; a work on the titles of the Psalms, which has perished; and a collection of letters which must have been very large. Two of these letters have been discovered in their complete text. What has most forcibly drawn the attention of scholars to Serapion in these latter days, is the discovery of an *Euchologium* comprising 30 prayers: several of these are ascribed to him in particular and the whole collection is probably his work. Of these prayers 18 belong to the liturgy of the mass, 7 to baptism and confirmation, 3 to ordination, 1 to the oil for the sick and 1 to funerals. Dating, as they certainly do, back to the fourth century and perhaps even more ancient in substance, they are of the highest interest for the history of Christian worship and the sacraments.

SYNESIUS of Cyrene[3] was a very strange character. Brought up a pagan and nourished at Alexandria with Neo-Platonic philosophy, which he studied at the school of the famous Hypatia, he was only half converted to Christianity and was dreaming of a comfortable life in an atmosphere of opulence and learning when he was elected bishop of Ptolemais, in 406 or 409. He accepted the burden of the episcopate reluctantly, but endeavored to fulfil all its duties, especially that of healing the many temporal injuries caused by the invasion of the barbarians.

Yet the teachings of the Church never took deep root in his soul, and as a matter of fact his religion was nothing more than a high form of spiritualism tinged with Christianity. Apparently he died before the year 415.

We possess 6 treatises of Synesius, written before he became a bishop, which have nothing Christian about them; 2 entire discourses and a few fragments of 2 homilies; 10 hymns in classical style of which number vii and x are truly Christian in spirit; and 156 letters which constitute the most interesting part of his literary remains. They date from 399 to 413 and supply precious details of the history and condition of the Pentapolis at that time.

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[1] Works in *P. G.*, XL; to be completed by A. BRINCKMANN, *Die Streitschrift des Serapion von Thmuis gegen die Manichäer*, in *Sitzungsbcrichte der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, 1894, 479-491. The *Euchologium* has been edited by G. WOBBERMIN, in *Texte und Unters.*, xvii, 3 *b*, 1899, and by F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, II, Paderborn, 1905.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 99.

[3] Works in *P. G.*, LXVI; French transl. by H. DRUON, Paris, 1878. See H. DRUON, *Étude sur la Vie et les Oeuvres de Synesius*, Paris, 1859. C. VELLAY, *Études sur les Hymnes de Synesius de Cyrene*, Paris, 1904.

Photius[1] admired the elegant composition and forceful thought of these letters.

The Egyptian authors of this period are monks, not [166] bishops. Already in the fourth century the monastic or cenobitical life had begun there with St. Antony and St. Pachomius, and with it came a special kind of literature, the object of which was to instruct souls in the rules of Christian spirituality and to urge them forward on the road to perfection. The influence of this literature was enormous.

ST. ANTONY (251-356) wrote, or rather dictated—for he did not know how to write—some letters in Coptic, mention of which is made in the writings of ancient authors. St. Jerome in particular[2] was acquainted with a collection of 7 letters addressed to different monasteries. It is doubtful, however, whether the collection which we possess[3] represents the one he alludes to. The 20 letters translated from the Arabic[4] are a forgery. Indeed, the only authentic letter is the one addressed to the Abbot Theodorus and cited by Bishop Ammonius.[5]

PACHOMIUS[6] was the founder of the cenobitical life. Born c. 290, of pagan parentage, he was converted, dedicated himself to an ascetic life, and in 318 founded at Tabennesi the first organized community. Eight others were founded during his lifetime; he died May 9, 346. Pachomius has left us in Coptic a *Rule*, the Latin translation of which was made by St. Jerome in 404. Perhaps it had already been slightly retouched. Another, called the *Angelical Rule*,[7] is hardly authentic. St. Jerome translated also some exhortations of Pachomius and 11 letters, among which should be noted those addressed to the Abbots Cornelius and Syrus, written partly in cryptic language.

The successor to Pachomius, HORSIEST, chose as his co-adjutor THEODORUS. We have 2 letters of Theodorus (d. 368), one of them in Latin.[8] Horsiesi (d. c. 380) has left us his spiritual testament in the *Doctrina de Institutione Monachorum*,[9] in 56 chapters.

Horsiesi and Theodorus had two famous contemporaries, MACARIUS, surnamed the Alexandrian, and MACARIUS, surnamed [167] variously the Egyptian, the Ancient, and the Great. The first of these has left no authentic writings. The second was born c. 300 and became a monk in the desert of Scete about 330. He died in 390, with a reputation among the hermits for wisdom and natural eloquence. Gennadius[10] mentions a letter he wrote to the young monks, *Ad Filios Dei*, which we probably still possess and which is perhaps the only authentic one of those attributed to him. The Sentences or *Apophtegmata*, also placed among his works, seem to reflect his teaching accurately. We have under his name and in Greek 50 *Spiritual Homilies*, in which the profound doctrine, expressed in vivid and lively language, is admirable. The authenticity of these homilies has been contested; however, many critics admit it. At any rate, these homilies seem to date from the fourth century and to have been written in Egypt.[11]

Among the disciples of Macarius we must name EVAGRIUS, surnamed Ponticus,[12] because he was born at Ebora in Pontus, c. 345. Ordained lector by St. Basil, and later deacon by St. Gregory Nazianzen, he

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[1] *Cod.*, 26.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 88.

[3] *P. G.*, xl, 977-1000.

[4] *Ib.*, 999-1066.

[5] *Ib.*, 1065.

[6] See *P. L.*, XXIII, 61-99; P. Ladeuze, *Étude sur le Cénobitisme Pakhomien*, Louvain, 1898.

[7] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, 32.

[8] *P. L.*, XXIII, 99-100.

[9] *P. G.*, XL, 869-894.

[10] *Vir. Ill.*, 10.

[11] *P. G.*, xxxiv. See AMÉLINEAU, *Vie de S. Macaire de Scété Vertus de S. Macaire; Apophtegmes de S. Macaire*, in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, xxv (1894). J. STOFFELS, *Die mystische Theologie des Makarius*, Bonn, 1908.

[12] Works in *P. G.*, XL. See O. ZOECKLER, *Evagrius Ponticus*, Munich, 1893.

accompanied the latter to the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, in 381, remaining for some time in the imperial city. He set out afterwards for Jerusalem, where he met Melania the Elder and, in 382, went on to Egypt, where he embraced the monastic life in the Nitrian desert, at the great monastery known as "The Cells" (τὰ κελλία). It was in vain that Theophilus of Alexandria offered him an episcopal see: Evagrius wished to remain a poor monk. He died in 399. Later his name suffered from the accusation of Origenism brought against him by St. Jerome, and the condemnation which struck down Origen in the sixth century affected him also.

Evagrius wrote quite a few works, all for the use of monks: (1) A work entitled Antirrheticus, 8 books containing the Scriptural texts which the monk may oppose to the suggestions of the eight capital vices, gluttony, lust, avarice, sorrow, anger, sloth, envy, pride. The original Greek [168] text has been lost, also the Latin translation by Gennadius. The work can, however, be reconstructed with the help of Latin and Syriac fragments. (2) A collection of sentences in 100 chapters, entitled *The Monk*. The Greek text of this work is preserved, although it has been distorted. (3) A second collection in 50 chapters entitled *The Gnostic*, for the more learned monks, has been lost. (4) A third collection of 600 *Scientific Problems*,— a kind of universal theology, dogmatic, moral, and ascetic, — is preserved in an unedited Syriac translation. (5) *Maxims* for the cenobites. (6) Maxims for virgins, extant in Latin. (7) A collection of a few very obscure sentences, as Gennadius calls them,[1] in telligible only to the monks. It is believed we still have part of these in Greek.[2] (8) Finally, a work *On Insensibility* (περὶ ἀπαθείας), indicated by St. Jerome, and a letter to Melania, which is perhaps also preserved.[3] However, this is not the entire work of Evagrius; there must remain an unedited part in the Greek, Latin, and Syriac manuscripts.

St. Isidore of Pelusium[4] is one of the best letter-writers of the Greek Church. A rhetorician and philosopher, originally from Alexandria, and later the disciple of St. Chrysostom, he established himself at Pelusium, and from his monastery exercised a wholesome influence over the most important men of his time. He died c. 440 and has left a collection of letters, altogether about 2000, divided into 5 books, which were admired in antiquity as models of sober eloquence. The greater number of these letters are exegetical in character. Their author follows the principles of interpretation of the school of Antioch. A certain number, however, deal with dogmatic and ascetical questions, while others are purely personal. All bear the imprint of a well-balanced, peace-loving mind.

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 11.

[2] *P. G.*, xl, 1263-1268.

[3] St. Jerome, *Epist.*, cxxxiii, 3.

[4] Works in *P. G.*, LXXVIII. See A. Bouvy, *De Isidoro Pelusiota libri tres*, Nimes, 1885. L. Bayer, *Isidors von Pelusium klassische Bildung;* Paderborn, 1915.

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SECTION III

WRITERS OF ASIA MINOR AND THRACE

1. ST. BASIL

St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and St. Gregory of Nyssa form what is called the group of "Great Cappadocians." Closely united by the bonds of blood and friendship, they have all contributed to the triumph of the faith of Nicaea and Constantinople, in the Orient, and especially in Asia Minor. In point of talent they may be said to complement one another: Basil was pre-eminently a man of action and government; Gregory of Nazianzus, an orator; Gregory of Nyssa, a philosopher. Of the three Basil was undoubtedly the most gifted.

St. Basil[1] was born c. 330 at Caesarea (Cappadocia) of a family long since profoundly Christian. His grandmother on his father's side, St. Macrina, had been a disciple of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus; his mother's father was a martyr. Basil was the eldest of ten children. Three of the sons, Basil, Gregory, and Peter, became bishops and the eldest daughter became a religious. It was in such surroundings that Basil was trained, first by his father, a distinguished rhetorician and lawyer, afterwards in the schools of Caesarea and Constantinople, and, finally for four or five years, in the schools of Athens, where he formed a lasting friendship with Gregory Nazianzen. After his return to Caesarea, in 356, he was baptised and, as he was resolved to become a monk, he visited the most famous ascetics of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Returning a second time to his [170] native country he established upon the banks of the Iris, in imitation of Eustathius of Sebaste, a colony of monks who gave their time to prayer, study, and labor in the field.

In 360 he was forced to leave his retreat and accompany Dianius, bishop of Caesarea, to Constantinople. Dianius died in 362 and was succeeded by Eusebius. A momentary quarrel arose between Basil and the new bishop, but the latter soon saw himself to be in the wrong, elevated Basil to the priesthood and attached him to his person. In 370, after a protracted election, Basil was chosen to occupy the see of Caesarea.

From now on his activity was twofold: internal, to instruct his people and provide for their wants by beneficent foundations; and external, to oppose the Arians and the attempts of the Emperor Valens and, more especially, to win dissenters to the faith of Nicaea, pacify the Church of Antioch, and solicit the help of the Latins and the West. Such was the work of his episcopacy; unfortunately, however, he did not live to see its final success, but died on January 1, 379.

On the morrow of his death St. Basil was surnamed "the Great." He well deserved the title by his intelligence, his eloquence, and his character. The Church has had very few men so richly gifted and well-balanced. It has been aptly said of St. Basil that he was "a Roman among the Greeks." His eloquence was less erudite and less glowing than that of Gregory Nazianzen; but his mind was more sound, judicious, and practical, and his speech more familiar and simple. By force of character and born leadership, he exercised over his contemporaries a decisive influence. Difficulties never stopped him, failure never disheartened him: to the end he fought for truth and peace. This is why the Eastern Church, for which he spent himself, has placed him among the foremost of her great ecumenical doctors, for he taught by example as well as by word.

In the literary work of St. Basil we distinguish dogmatic treatises, discourses and homilies, ascetical and liturgical works, and letters.

1. DOGMATIC TREATISES. — Two treatises of St. Basil deal particularly with dogma, (a) Against Eunomius (Ἀνατρεπτικός τοῦ ἀπολογητικοῦ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Εὐνομίου), 363-365. The author offers a

[1] Works in *P. G.*, xxix-xxxii. See L. Roux, *Étude sur la Prédication de Basile le Grand*, Strasbourg, 1867. E. FIALON, *Étude Historique et Littéraire sur S. Basile*, 2 éd., Paris, 1869. A. BAYLE, *S. Basile, Archévêque de Césarée*, Avignon, 1878. VASSON, *S. Basile le Grand, ses Oeuvres Oratoires et Ascétiques*, Paris, 1894. P. ALLARD, *S. Basile* (Coll. *Les Saints*), Paris, 1889. W. K. CLARKE, *St. Basil the Great, a Study in Monasticism*, Cambridge, 1913.

refutation of Eunomius' *Apologeticus*, which has already been spoken of. This refutation, [171] as we have it, comprises five books, but there is evidence to show that only the first three belong to St. Basil. The first attacks the error that innascibility is the essence of God; the second proves that the Son is consubstantial with the Father and the third that the Holy Ghost is truly God. (b) *On the Holy Ghost*, 375. The divinity of the Holy Ghost forms the exclusive subject of St. Basil's second treatise, addressed to Amphilochius. It answers objections raised by the Pneumatomachi against the divinity and consubstantiality of the third person of the Trinity. It has been said that, although the author demonstrates and implies this consubstantiality, yet he avoids formulas which would be too explicit or too clean-cut; but, as St. Gregory Nazianzen already remarked, this was a mere precaution adopted in order not to hurt the feelings of his opponents, whom he sought above all to bring back to the truth.

2. DISCOURSES AND HOMILIES. — Among the homilies published under the name of St. Basil the following are authentic, (a) The nine homilies on the Hexaëmeron, a literal explanation of the work of the first five days of creation (the sixth day is missing), one of the author's most popular works, (b) Thirteen homilies on Psalms 1, 7, 14, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 45, 48, 59, 61, and 114 (Septuagint Vers.). Other similar homilies must have been lost. The exegesis is allegorical and aims at edification, (c) Twenty-one homilies on various subjects;[1] the 2nd and the I7th, however, must be rejected as spurious. The 22nd is not a homily but a very interesting and most widely read little treatise on how to study the pagan classics and the good which may be drawn from them. As to the sermons given in *P. G.*, tome xxxi, col. 1429-1514, they must be excluded from the work of St. Basil with the possible exception of the sermon *In Sanctam Christi Generationem* and the sermon *Adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis deos tres*.

3. ASCETICAL AND LITURGICAL WORKS. — If St. Basil was not the founder of monachism in Asia Minor, he was at least its first law-giver. His ascetical writings form one of the most important parts of his literary legacy. No doubt everything in these writings is not original and it is likely that in many cases the author has merely codified prescriptions and customs already in existence. They have nevertheless served as a rule for the only great religious order of the [172] East and have unquestionably influenced the West through the medium of St. Benedict.

Among the ascetical writings of St. Basil the following must be looked upon as authentic: (a) The treatises or sermons entitled *De Indicia Dei* and *De Fide*, which precede and announce the *Moralia*. (b) The *Moralia* (τὰ ἠθικά) which comprise 84 rules defining, not exclusively the duties of monks, but those of all Christians and the pastors of the Church as well, (b) The *Regulae Fusius Tractatae*, or *Longer Rules*, for the most part in catechetical form. As we have them, these rules comprise 55 chapters: it is possible that the text was retouched even during the lifetime of the author, perhaps by his own hand. Their composition is generally placed in 358-359 or 362-365. (d) The *Regulae Brevius Tractatae*, or *Shorter Rules*, 313 in number, also in question and answer form, solve cases of conscience. They are later than the Longer Rules.

The *Praevia Institutio Ascetica*, which presents the monk as the soldier of God, the *Sermo Asceticus de Renuntiatione Saeculi* and the *Sermo de Ascetica Disciplina quomodo Monachum Ornari oporteat*, a collection of vivid and concise sentences, may be looked upon as probably authentic, though with reserve. The others are either certainly spurious or of doubtful authenticity.

As to the liturgical work of St. Basil, its substance is to be found in the liturgy which bears his name and which is still in use in the Eastern Church. It is evident, however, that this liturgy has, in the course of centuries, undergone many modifications.

4. LETTERS. — The letters of St. Basil show perhaps best of all his writings, his refinement of mind, his great and sympathetic character, and the perfection of his style. The Benedictine edition of his works includes 365 of them, divided into three categories: (a) letters written previous to his espiscopate, 357-370 (i-xlvi); (b) letters written during his episcopate, 370-378 (xlvii-ccxci); (c) letters of uncertain date, doubtful or spurious (ccxcii-ccclxv). Since the edition of the Maurists two more letters have been found. St. Basil's

[1] *P. G.*, xxxi.

letters deal with a variety of subjects, from the most commonplace to the most important, affecting even the life of the universal Church. [173]

2. St. Gregory of Nazianzus[1]

St. Gregory was born at or near Arianzus, in Cappadocia, c. 328-329. He was one or two years older than St. Basil, and the son of a convert from paganism, who became bishop of Nazianzus. The young man frequented first the schools of Caesarea in Cappadocia, then that of Caesarea in Palestine, and finally those of Alexandria and Athens. On his return to his native country he received the sacrament of Baptism, c. 360, and withdrew with Basil to the banks of the Iris, to take up the monastic life. It was probably at this time that the two friends compiled the collection of select passages from Origen entitled *Philocalia*.

In 361, Gregory was forced to return to Nazianzus. His father was an old man and needed his assistance in the administration of the diocese. He ordained Gregory a priest and from 362 to 370 kept him near him. In 370, however, Basil was elected bishop of Caesarea. Judging that Gregory would be of help to him in his claims against the bishop of Tyana, with whom he was engaged in controversy, Basil placed him over the see of Sasima, in 371 or 372. Sasima was a dull and insignificant town in Cappadocia. Gregory never took possession of his see. After his father's death, he withdrew, in 375, to a retreat in Isauris, and it was there that he received, in 379, the news of St. Basil's death.

In the first months of this year a deputation was sent to beg him to come to the help of the Catholics of Constantinople, who were without a bishop. Gregory yielded to the request, gathered the faithful of the city in the small chapel of the Anastasis, and delivered there his famous discourses on the Trinity. On the 27th of November, 380, he was installed by Theodosius as archbishop of Constantinople. In 381, however, the Second General Council was convoked and, owing to difficulties which were raised concerning his promotion to the see of Constantinople, Gregory resigned and re turned to Nazianzus; Eulalius was, at his desire, elected as [174] the new bishop. Thenceforth Gregory lived probably at Arianzus, where he died in 389 or 390.

St. Gregory has drawn an exact picture of himself in the poems he wrote on his life. He was a sensitive and impressionable soul, slightly chimerical, and easily ruffled by the realities of life. He was not made for action, at least not for persevering and prolonged action. Ill at ease in the world, he instinctively longed for solitude; yet his desire to be of help to souls, and his vigorous and persuasive oratory called him irresistibly back to the world. He could have made the best of all his powers only in calm and sympathetic surroundings, but, except perhaps at Nazianzus, these were always wanting. He was a born orator, of clear vision and warm and vivid imagination. He knew all the resources of the art of oratory; he even — and this is his weak point— betrays too plainly his thorough acquaintance with them. His style is ornate, graceful, and slightly affected; his manner refined and delicate, but too studied. Patristic literature in him has not yet reached decadence, but decadence can be clearly foreseen. The noble simplicity of Basil is gone. In spite of this, or rather on account of it, there was never a Christian author more admired in the Byzantine period. What is, after all, more remarkable in Gregory is his theological language. In the Trinitarian and Christological questions he always found the most happy expressions and the most precise formulas which fix definitively the expression of the dogma. There has been no need to retouch them since.

The literary work of St. Gregory comprises discourses, poems, and letters.

1. Discourses. — The discourses are the most remarkable part of his work. There are 45 of them, of which more than half date from the period of his residence at Constantinople, 379-381; the others were delivered at Nazianzus. They comprise *Dogmatic Discourses*, among which we note especially 5 *Theological Discourses on the Trinity* (xxvii-xxxi); discourses on the *Christian Feasts* (Epiphany, Easter,

[1] Works in *P. G.*, xxxv-xxxviii. See A. Benoit, *S. Grégoire de Nazianse, Archévêque de Constantinople*, Paris, 1876, 2 édit., 1885. E. Dubedout, *De D. Gregorii Naz. Carminibus*, Paris, 1901. L. F. M. de Jonge, *De S. Gregorii Naz. Carminibus quae inscribi solent* Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, Amsterdam, 1910. M. Guignet, *S. Grégoire de Naz. et la Rhétorique*, Paris, 1911. Id., *Les Procédés Epistolaires de S. Grégoire de Naz. comparés à ceux de ses Contemporains*, Paris, 1911.

Pentecost, etc.) and *Panegyrics* of saints (Sts. Cyprian of Antioch, Athanasius, etc.), into which the orator has put all his art; *Funeral Orations* (on Caesarius, St. Basil, etc.), a kind of discourse inaugurated by Gregory in the Church, in which he followed the rules of the pagan *encomia*;[1] two philippics [175] against Julian the Apostate; and finally a few occasional discourses, in which the author explains and justifies his conduct.

2. POEMS. — The poems were written during the last years of the Saint's life (383-389). They have been divided into two books, each subdivided into two sections; *i.e*. *Theological Poems*, comprising *Dogmatic* and *Moral Poems*, and *Historical Poems*, comprising personal poems (*Poemata de Seipso*) and poems on others than himself (*Poemata quae spectant ad Alias*). Hardly any true poetry is to be found here, except in the personal poems, which are inspired by deep and sincere emotion. Poem xi, *De Vita Sua*, 1949 verses, is an autobiography of historical value. The long tragedy *Christus Patiens*[2] is a Byzantine work of the eleventh or twelfth century.

3. LETTERS. — St. Gregory's correspondence contains 244 letters, to which may be added a short note to St. Basil, recently discovered. Letters xli-xliii must be deducted from this number, and perhaps also letter ccxliii to Evagrius, as their authorship is uncertain. This correspondence, which affords such pleasant reading, though its tone is somewhat affected, has not the historical worth of St. Basil's. A few of Gregory's letters, however, are theological documents of the first importance, such, for example, as the two letters ci and cii to the priest Cledonius, written probably in 382, and the letter ccii, written in 387,— all three directed against Apollinarism.

Critics are divided as to the authenticity of the *Testament* of St. Gregory;[3] Tillemont, however, finds no sound reason for rejecting it.

3. ST. GREGORY OF NYSSA[4]

St. Gregory of Nyssa, a younger brother of St. Basil, born c. 335, was educated in his native country and destined for the Church when yet very young. Deterred from the clerical [176] state by a crisis of conscience, he took up the profession of a teacher of rhetoric and had been practicing it for a long time when the exhortations of Gregory of Nazianzus[5] brought him back to his vocation. He then joined the society of anchorites founded by his brother on the banks of the Iris, and it was thence his brother took him, in 371, to make him bishop of Nyssa.

In those trying days the office of the episcopacy, to be well filled, demanded very prudent and discreet men. Gregory did not come up to Basil's expectations. But, though inferior in matters of administration, he left a superior mark upon dogmatic theology. Deposed by the Arians, in 376, he was able to re-enter Nyssa, in 378, and assisted at the Council of Antioch, 379, and the General Council of Constantinople, 381, where he acquired such authority that Theodosius pointed him out among the bishops, communion with whom was the test of orthodoxy. In 384-386 we find him again at Constantinople, pronouncing funeral orations for Princess Pulcheria and her mother Flaccilla. After 394 his name disappears from history; he must have died that year or shortly after.

The three Cappadocians have been characterized by the saying that Basil was the arm, Gregory of Nazianzus the mouth, and Gregory of Nyssa the head. The expression is correct, provided it be not taken in too exclusive a sense, for Basil was both a thinker and a speaker. It is true, however, that Gregory of

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[1] See F. BOULENGER, *Grégoire de Naz., Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée*, Greek text, French transl., introd. and index (*Textes et Documents*), Paris, 1908.

[2] *P. G.*, xxxviii, 133-338.

[3] *P. G.*, xxxvii, 389-396.

[4] Works in *P. G.*, XLIV-XLVI. See FR. BÖHRINGER, *Die drei Kappadozier*, 2, *Gregor von Nyssa*, Stuttgart, 1876. L. MERIDIER, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse*, Rennes, 1906.

[5] *Epist*., xi.

Nyssa had neither his elder brother's knowledge of affairs nor his namesake's graceful eloquence. Basil complained more than once of his brother's blunders, and critics reproach him for his style, often obscure, rhetorical, and overloaded with imagery. But he was a philosopher and endeavored to harmonize the teachings of faith with reason and to show their complete accord. His sphere was that of speculative and systematic theology, which introduces logic and order everywhere. His philosophy is generally that of the Neo-Platonists; he was filled with the spirit of Origen. The influence of this great master was not always a happy one, yet it does not prevent Gregory's doctrinal authority from being decisive. He appeared to the Fathers of the Council of 381 as the heir of St. Basil's thought, charged by Providence to secure the triumph of orthodoxy, for which his brother's ability had paved the way. [177]

The writings of Gregory of Nyssa include nearly all species of Christian literature. We may divide them into exegetical, dogmatico-polemical, and ascetical writings, discourses, and letters.

1. EXEGETICAL WRITINGS AND HOMILIES. — The exegesis of Gregory of Nyssa follows different lines according to the end he has in view. It it literal in his dogmatical works and frequently allegorical in his works of pure edification. A disciple of Origen, he pushed allegorism further than the other Cappadocians. His exegetical treatises properly so-called comprise:

(a) *De Hominis Opificio* (On the Formation of Man) an explanation of Genesis 1, 26, composed shortly after the death of St. Basil to complete the homilies of that Saint on the work of the six days (Hexaëmeron).

(b) *An Apologctical Explanation of the Hexaëmeron*, written in answer to his brother, Peter, about certain obscurities and apparent contradictions in the biblical narrative.

(c) *On the Life of Moses* (c. 390), in which he employs the boldest allegory: the life of Moses is pictured as the model of the Christian life and of the ascent of the soul towards God.

(d) *On the Witch of Endor* (1 Kings, xxviii, 12 ff.). Gregory maintains against Origen, and with Methodius and Eustathius of Antioch, that it was not a prophet but a demon that appeared to Saul.

(e) *On the Titles of the Psalms*, in two parts. Here again allegory abounds: the division of the Psalms into five books corresponds to the five degrees of Christian perfection (i); each title contains a moral instruction (ii).

(f) We possess also a homily of St. Gregory on the title of Ps. vi, *De Octava*; 8 homilies on Ecclesiastes: 15 on the Canticle of Canticles; 5 on the Lord's Prayer; 8 on the Beatitudes; 1 on ICorinthians, vi, 18; and an explanation of ICorinthians, xv, 28, against the Arians.

2. DOGMATICO-POLEMICAL TREATISES. — (a) In the first rank we must place the treatise *Against Eunomius* (Πρὸς Εὐνόμιον ἀντιρρητικοί λόγοι), one of the strongest works directed against Anomeism. Eunomius had defended his *Apologeticus* against the attacks of St. Basil by writing an *Apology of the Apology*, which appeared only after the death of the Bishop of Caesarea. It is this defence which Gregory undertook to refute. In Patristic editions this [178] refutation comprises 12 or 13 books, the 12th being sometimes divided into two parts. On the other hand, the 2nd book has been wrongly introduced into the work, for it is an altogether different work, *viz*., a critical examination of the profession of faith presented by Eunomius to Theodosius, in 383. The treatise against Eunomius was begun in 380 or 381 and completed shortly afterwards.

(b) Gregory also directed two treatises against Apollinaris. The shorter of the two, written after 385, is the *Adversus Apollinarem ad Theophilum Episcopum Alexandrinum;* the longer, which is the most important refutation of Apollinaris we possess, is the *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarem*, written towards the close of the author's life.

(c) Against the Pneumatomachi we must mention a *Sermo de Spiritu Sancto adversus Pneumatomachos Macedonianos*, of well established authenticity.

(d) Against the Pneumatomachi also were directed 4 short general compositions on the Trinity: *Ad Eustathium de Trinitate*;[1] *Ad Ablabium, quod non sint tres dii*, much quoted; *Adversus Graecos ex commnnibus notionibus*; and *Ad Simplicium de fide*.

(e) The *Contra Fatum*, directed against astronomical fatalism, completes the polemical works of St. Gregory of Nyssa.

In the following works the exposition is more calm, for the author does not aim, at least directly, at controversy.

(f) *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, or *Great Catechesis*,[2] a doctrinal synthesis by Scripture and reason of the fundamental teachings on faith, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Redemption, Baptism, the Eucharist, and the Last Things. For the study of theology this is one of the author's most important works. It was written before 385.

(g) *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione, qui inscribitur Macrinia*, an imitation of Plato's *Phædon*. Gregory expresses, by the mouth of his sister, Macrina, his personal ideas about death, the soul and its immortality, the resurrection and final retribution. The work dates shortly after the death of Macrina, which occurred in 380.

(h) Finally, *Ad Hierium … de Infantibus, qui praemature abripiuntur*, [179] a small work on God's designs in the premature death of little children.

3. ASCETICAL WORKS. — The ascetical writings of St. Gregory are not as important as his dogmatic treatises. However, two of them have enjoyed a certain popularity, — the treatise *De Virginitate*, composed c. 370-371, and particularly the *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, 380. Macrina was the sister of Gregory, a religious in the convent on the Iris, who is supposed to speak in the "Dialogue on the Soul and its Resurrection." Besides these two writings we may mention four others on the Christian and religious life: *Ad Harmonium, quid Nomen Professiove Christianorum sibi velit; Ad Olympium Monachum de Perfectione; De Proposito secundum Deum et Exercitatione juxta Virtutem;* and *Adversus eos qui Castigationes aegre ferunt*.

4. DISCOURSES. — Besides the homilies already spoken of, Gregory has bequeathed us a good many discourses on various subjects. Among them may be found dogmatic sermons, moral exhortations, discourses on the great liturgical feasts, panegyrics of saints, and a few funeral orations. It is a well-known fact that Gregory's eloquence was highly appreciated at the court of Constantinople; yet, as we had occasion already to remark, there is something unreal and affected about it. This defect is very pronounced in the funeral orations, but less in the moral exhortations, where the author simply abandons himself to his zeal as a pastor of souls.

5. LETTERS. — The collection of the letters of St. Gregory of Nyssa comprises 26, to which must be added a fragment of a letter to a certain monk, named Philip, and the Canonical Epistle to Letoius, written c. 390. Among these letters, which generally refer to different circumstances of the author's life, we may call attention to Letter ii, *De iis qui adeunt Ierosolymam*, on the evils all too common of pilgrimages. Letter iii, however, shows that Gregory himself had visited the holy places.

4. ST. AMPHILOCHIUS[3]

To the three great Cappadocians, of whom we have just spoken, must be added another, whose name is less famous [180] than theirs, but who was their friend and shared in their struggles. This is St. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium.

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[1] This treatise is not to be found in the P. G., but in OEHLER, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, 1, 2, Leipzig, 1858.

[2] See the edition of L. MERIDIER, *Grég, de Nysse, Discours Catéchétique*, (*Textes et Documents*), Paris, 1908.

[3] Works in P. G., xxxix (incomplete). See K. HOLL, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern*, Tübingen, 1904. G. PICKER, *Amphilochiana*, I, Leipzig, 1906. L. SALTET, La Théologie d'Amphiloque, in

He must have been born in Cappadocia, c. 340-345, and was, it seems, the first cousin of St. Gregory of Nazianzus. He studied under Libanius at Antioch, first practiced law in Constantinople and then, in 371, on account of some disagreement, the exact character of which we know not, withdrew to a place near Nazianzus and devoted himself to the ascetical life. In 373, St. Basil, who had great confidence in him, appointed him bishop of Iconium. He was present at the Council of Constantinople, in 381, presided at the one held at Side, in Pamphylia, in 390, against the heretical sect of the Encratites, and again, in 394, at a council of Constantinople. From this moment on his name disappears from history; it seems certain that he died before 403.

Our principal source for the life of St. Amphilochius is the correspondence of SS. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. Both these writers represent him as a most agreeable man, full of zeal for the faith, and entirely devoted to the duties of his ministry. He had a well-balanced mind, speaking and writing for a definite and practical purpose, — in short, he was more pastor and bishop than thinker and orator.

His literary work was considerable; but very few of his writings have been preserved entire. Among this number we may place a synodal letter, written in the name of the Synod of Iconium, in 376, on the divinity of the Holy Ghost; the *Epistolae Iambicae ad Seleucum*,[1] grandson of the general Trajan, whom the bishop exhorts to work and virtue; and 8 sermons, certainly authentic, including the one *In Mesopentecosten*, and the homilies discovered by Holl and Picker. We still have the greater portion of a treatise against the heretical sect of the Encratites (Apotactites and Gemellites), contained in a manuscript of the Escurial and dating between 373 and 381.

Among his last works, of which only a few fragments remain, are a treatise *On the Holy Ghost*, alluded to by St. Jerome,[2] several homilies against the Arians cited by later writers, and a few letters. [181]

5. Historians and Hagiographers

It was at Caesarea in Palestine, as we shall see, that ecclesiastical history began with Eusebius and was carried on by his imitators. We will mention a few of these, who belong to the regions we are now studying.

Very little now remains of a Christian History (Χριστιανικὴ ἱστορία), in 36 books, published c. 430 by the priest Philip of Side in Pamphylia, a work poorly composed and uncritical. On the other hand, we have the two complete Histories of Socrates and Sozomen, the continuators of Eusebius.

Socrates was born at Constantinople, c. 408. He received his education in that city and became a lawyer. His *Church History*[3] in 7 books, which is a continuation, from 323 to 439, of that of Eusebius, must have been completed between 439 and 443. In spite of inexactitudes and evident preferences, the author is well informed and impartial.

Sozomen was born at Gaza in Palestine and, like Socrates, embraced the profession of law at Constantinople. His *History*,[4] in 9 books, completed in 443 or 444, extends from 323 to 423, where it stops rather abruptly. It is too often nothing more than a plagiarism of that of Socrates. However, as he consulted the sources which Socrates had utilized, and others, too, he is often able to furnish new details and give more amplitude to his narrative.

Philip, Socrates, and Sozomen sought in their works to write the history of the entire Church. The following writers are particularly hagiographers.

Bulletin de Littér. Ecclés., 1905, pp. 121-127. F. Cavallera, *Les Fragments de S. Amphiloque ...*, in the *Revue d'Hist. Ecclés.*, VIII (1907), p. 473-497.

[1] *P. G.*, xxxvii, 1577-1600.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 133.

[3] Edition by Valois in the *P. G.*, LXVII.

[4] Edit. by Valois, same tome of the *P. G.*

PALLADIUS,[1] born in Galatia c. 363-364, became a monk in 386, visited the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt, and spent some time in the Nitrian desert and at the Cellulae. In 400 he was consecrated bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, and at the council of "The Oak" (a villa near Chalcedon) supported St. John Chrysostom. In 405 he visited Rome. Exiled from 406 to 412 to Syena, he went again to see the anchorites of Egypt and, on his return to Galatia, was transferred to the see of Aspuna. He died probably in 425. [182]

We have two works of Palladius, — a *Life of St. John Chrysostom*, in dialogue form, written in 407 or 408, during his exile at Syena, and the *Historia Lausiaca*, so called after Lausus, the chief chamberlain of Theodosius II, for whom it was written. It is a collection of memoirs on the monks and ascetical women whom Palladius had known, or of whom he had heard during his travels. The work dates from 419-420. For freshness of narrative and vivacity of thought, it is one of the most important sources of the history of monachism. The primitive text, which had been somewhat adulterated by the addition of a *History of the Monks*, probably composed by TIMOTHY, archdeacon of Alexandria, in 412, has recently been disentangled by Butler.

Palladius in his "Historia Lausiaca" speaks repeatedly of St. Melania the Younger, whom he happened to meet. The life of this pious woman was written, probably c. 440-450, by her confessor, GERONTIUS, who died in 485. The original text is lost, but the gist of the Life has been preserved in two versions, one in Greek, the other in Latin; the Greek seems to be nearer the true source.[2]

Finally we may mention a *Life* of Abbot Hypatius, who died in 446 in the Rufinian monastery near Chalcedon, written by one of his monks named CALLINICUS, in 447-450.[3]

6. LESSER WRITERS

Among the less important authors of Asia Minor during the first period of Arianism we may note MARCELLUS, bishop of Ancyra, a zealous Nicean, more zealous than clever and perspicacious. In a book directed against the sophist Asterius, and completed in 335 (the exact title is not known), he expressed views on the Trinity which the Arians condemned as Sabellian and which the orthodox excused only by explaining that they were mere attempts at an explanation, and in no way definitive. We have 129 citations from this book, made by Eusebius, who refuted it, and by St. Epiphanius.[4] The other writings which St. Jerome[5] attributes to [183] Marcellus, are probably various apologies, letters, and professions of faith which he composed in his own defence. Of these there remains only his profession of faith to Pope Julius I. Marcellus died in 374.

A little later, c. 400, flourished ASTERIUS, bishop of Amasea,[6] famous for his sound and fiery eloquence. Homilies cited by the Second Council of Nicaea are ascribed to him.[7] Twenty-one of these have reached us entire. The *Catenae Scripturarum* contain numerous fragments.

To this period belongs also MACARIUS, bishop of Magnesia in Caria, or Lyclia, who assisted at the synod held at "The Oak," in 403. He is believed to be the author of an apology in 5 books, in the form of objections and answers, entitled Unigenitus, or a Reply to the Heathen, written probably c. 410. The objections are

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[1] The dialogue *De Vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi* is to be found in *P. G.*, XLVII. For the *Historia Lausiaca*, see the edition by D. E. C. BUTLER, *Texts and Studies*, vi, or, better, that of A. LUCOT, *Palladius, Histoire Lausiaque*, text, introd., and French transl., Paris, 1912 (*Textes et Documents*).

[2] See Card. RAMPOLLA, *Santa Melania Giuniore*, Roma, 1905; G. GOYAU, *Sainte Mélanie* (Coll. *Les Saints*), Paris, 1908.

[3] See *Callinici de Vita Sancti Hypatii Liber*, Leipzig, 1895.

[4] Gathered by RETTBERG, *Marcelliana*, Göttingen, 1794; better edit, by E. KLOSTERMANN *in Eusebius' Werke*, tome iv (Collect, of Berlin), Leipzig, 1906, pp. 185-215. See TH. ZAHN, *Marcellus von Ancyra*, Gotha, 1867.

[5] *Vir. Ill.*, 86.

[6] *P. G.*, XL.

[7] Extracts are given by Photius, *Cod.* 271.

taken mostly from the work of the Neo-Platonist Porphyry against the Christians. Under the name of Macarius are current also some fragments of homilies on Genesis.[1]

Later, during the struggle which began in 429 between St. Cyril and Nestorius, the writers of Asia Minor generally espoused Cyril's part. Among them were notably MEMNON, bishop of Ephesus, from whose pen we have a letter addressed (in 431) to the clergy of Constantinople;[2] and THEODOTUS of Ancyra (Galatia), who wrote to Lausus 6 books against Nestorius (now lost) and some homilies mentioned by the seventh general council. Under his name we have also 6 homilies, three of which are certainly authentic, preached at Ephesus, and an *Exposition of the Nicene Creed*, which refutes Nestorianism.[3]

To these names we must add FIRMUS of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who left 45 very interesting letters which, how ever, do not touch on doctrinal questions;[4] ACACIUS of Melitene, first a friend, then an ardent opponent of Nestorius, of whose writings there remain but a single homily delivered [184] at Ephesus and two letters;[5] AMPHILOCHIUS, bishop of Side (a fragment of a letter);[6] PROCLUS, bishop of Cyzicus, transfered in 434 to Constantinople and who died in 446: we possess under his name 25 sermons, the first of which, *De Laudibus Marine*, is famous, and a few letters;[7] and finally, the archimandrite DALMATIUS of Constantinople, from whom we have an apology and 2 letters.[8]

As to DIADOCHUS, bishop of Photice in Illyria, in the middle of the fifth century, he was not involved in the controversy and seems to have simply expounded the orthodox faith. There remains a work of his entitled *Centum Capita de Perfectione Spirituali* and a *Sermo de Ascensione D.N. Jesu Christi*.[9] [185]

SECTION IV

WRITERS OF ANTIOCH AND SYRIA

1. EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA[10]

Eusebius was born c. 265, probably at Caesarea, where he received his education and followed the lessons of the priest Dorotheus in Sacred Scripture. Ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Agapius, he became intimate with the learned priest Pamphilus and worked with him to enrich the library of his native city with new manuscripts. It may well be that he then commenced to extract from the works it contained passages which appeared to him interesting and which were destined later to be included in his own works.

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1 Edit. C. BLONDEL, *Macarii Magnetis quae supersunt*, Paris, 1876. See L. DUCHESNE, *De Macario Magnete et scriptis ejus*, Paris, 1877. H. HAUSCHILDT, *De Porphyrio philosopho Macarii Magnetis apologetae christiani in libris* ἀποκριτικῶν *auctore*, Heidelberg, 1907.

2 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1463.

3 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1313.

4 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1481.

5 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1467.

6 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1515.

7 *P. G.*, LXV, 679.

8 *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1797.

9 *P. G.*, LXV, 1141.

10 Works in *P. G.*, xix-xxrv. In the Berlin collection, the following have so far appeared: *Life of Constantine; Discourse of Constantine to the Gathering of the Saints; Discourse for the Tricennalia of the Emperor* (I. A. HEIKEL, 1901); *Church History* (E. SCHWARTZ and TH. MOMMSEN, 1903-1909); the *Onomasticon* (E. KLOSTERMANN, 1904); the *Theophany* (H. GRESSMANN, 1904); the *Contra Marcellum* and the *De Ecclesiastica Theologia* (E. KLOSTERMANN, 1906); the *Chronicle* (J. KARST, 1911): the *Evangelical Demonstration* (I. A. HEIKEL, 1913); the *Chronicle of St. Jerome* (R. HELM, 1913). In the collection *Textes et Documents* may be found the *Church History*, text, French transl., and commentary by E. GRAPIN, Paris, 1905-1913. See F. J. STEIN, *Eusebius, Bischof von Caesarea*, Würzburg, 1859; and J. B. LIGHTFOOT, article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, II, 308-348.

Whilst he was thus occupied, the Diocletian persecution overtook him. Pamphilus was carried away by it in 309; but Eusebius escaped, and notwithstanding certain accusations, it does not seem that it was at the expense of his conscience.

In 313, shortly after the publication of the edict of Milan, he was elected bishop of Caesarea. Ten or twelve years of peace went by, during which he was able to write the books that have won for him the reputation of being the most learned man of his time. Unfortunately, Eusebius' doctrine did not come up to his erudition. Zealous follower of Origen that he was, he retained some rather misleading [186] phrases on the Logos and, although he did not accept the extreme doctrines of Arius, he practically shared some of his views. However, he did sign the profession of faith drawn up by the Council of Nicaea, since the Emperor demanded it. But he endeavored to minimize the importance of this step and later joined the enemies of the Council in attacking its decisions. He assisted, in 330, at the Council of Antioch, which deposed Eustathius; in 335, at that of Tyre, which condemned Athanasius, and, in 336, at that of Constantinople, which condemned Marcellus of Ancyra. He remained active to the end of his life, always writing; yet he did not long survive Constantine. Constantine died May 22, 337; the death of Eusebius must be placed in 339 or, at the latest, in 340.

Eusebius seems to have been a gentle and agreeable character and a lover of peace. He needed this for his studies, and we may well believe that one of his grievances against Athanasius and the orthodox party was that they disturbed the peace of the Church by an untimely zeal. He was ready to compromise, but forgot that in matters of faith no compromise is possible. He has been accused of flattery and servility towards Constantine. It is true that he loved and admired Constantine very much; such was, indeed, the general feeling of Christians, who had passed through the persecution of Diocletian, and this feeling was increased in Eusebius case by the esteem with which he knew the Emperor honored him. The least we can say is that Eusebius never exploited the imperial favor for his own interests. He preferred the serene joy of his studies at Caesarea to the honors of the see of Antioch, which he might well have secured.

Eusebius was one of the best read and most indefatigable workers the Church has ever known. He read everything, — sacred and profane literature, large and small treatises, even letters, — and made excerpts of everything he could lay hands on. His contribution to theology is limited to a forcible refutation of Sabellianism, but he was a good apologist; it might be said that he was pre-eminently an apologist, for his historical works were meant by him to furnish proofs of the truth of Christianity. His style is generally dull and monotonous. His set speeches exhibit a knowledge of the rules of rhetoric, although his eloquence is altogether conventional and lacks oratorical inspiration.

The literary legacy of Eusebius comprises books on history, [187] apologetics, Scripture and exegesis, dogma, discourses and letters.

1. HISTORICAL WORKS. — (a) A *Life of Pamphilus*, martyr (309), in 3 books, qualified by St. Jerome as "*libros elegantissimos*." This biography was written in 309 or 310; only a short excerpt remains.

(b) *On the Martyrs of Palestine* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνη μαρτυρησάντων). Eusebius would have liked to see gathered together all the reminiscences of the Christians who died for the faith during the persecution of Diocletian (303-311). He himself accomplished this for the martyrs of Palestine. The work has reached us in two recensions, — a shorter one, usually printed as an appendix to the eighth book of the *Church History*, and a longer one, the complete text of which is extant only in a Syriac version. Both were written by Eusebius himself, although critics are not agreed as to which is first chronologically.

(c) A collection of the *Acts of Ancient Martyrs* (Ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίων συναγωγή), *i.e*., of martyrs prior to the Diocletian persecution. This very precious collection has been lost; only a few pieces have been preserved independently of Eusebius, and some fragments or summaries in his *Church History*. The author must have begun this work before the year 300.

(d) The *Chronicle* is an imitation of that of Julius Africanus, but is more accurate. It gives a table of the events of the world from the birth of Abraham down to 323 A.D. The first part fixes the chronology; the

second relates the events in order of time. The whole work has been preserved in an Armenian translation, slightly retouched, and the second part in a Latin translation retouched and continued by St. Jerome.

(e) The *Church History* (*Historia Ecclesiastica*) is the most important and the most frequently cited of Eusebius' works. The first eight books seem to have been completed in 312; Book IX was added in 315, and a large part of Book X in 317. Finally, the whole work was revised and completed in 324, or shortly after. Book I gives a summary of the history of our Lord; Book II that of the Apostles, up to the war of Judea; Books III-V go as far as Origen; Book VI is devoted almost entirely to Origen; Book VII deals with the forty years from 260 to 300; Book VIII tells the contemporary history up to the year 411; Books IX and X [188] record the events which took place between 411 and 424.

The value of Eusebius' *Church History* is beyond estimation, for it is a treasure-house whence all subsequent historians have drawn, and without which the first three centuries of the Church would be almost unknown to us. This does not mean that the work is perfect. It is rather a collection of facts and extracts than an orderly history that links facts together and describes them with their causes and consequences. This is, perhaps, a very fortunate defect, since in this way the author has partly transmitted to us the very texts which served as his sources. On the other hand, neither his sincerity as an historian nor his critical ability have been questioned. It is remarkable how he was able to guard against the mass of apocryphal writings current in his time and well known to him. Eusebius knew very little Latin, and this defect barred him from much information. His chronology is often defective; his citations are too brief, and this sometimes prevents us from grasping the exact meaning. But his great defect is last of synthesis; three or four times he turns to the canon of the New Testament and nowhere gives a complete treatment of the subject. Nevertheless, the *Church History*, in spite of its defects, is a book of the highest worth.

(f) A *Life of Constantine* (Εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου), a kind of appendix to the Church History, written between 337 and 340. This is more a panegyric than a complete and impartial account of the Emperor's life. The author shows his hero only in his relations with religion and the Church, and records only the good actions of his life and his virtues. A few precious historical data, however, are to be found scattered here and there.

2. APOLOGETICAL WORKS. — *1 and 2*. The principal apologetical work of Eusebius is in the 2 treatises, the *Evangelical Preparation* and the *Evangelical Demonstration*, which are practically parts of one great work. The first, in 15 books, is directed against paganism and demonstrates that this religion is inferior to that of the Jews, from the points of view of doctrine, moral influence, and antiquity. Numerous citations from pagan authors are given to confirm this reasoning. The second is directed against the Jews and establishes by the prophecies the fact that their religion was to be merely a preparation for Christianity. Of the 20 books devoted to the proof of this thesis, we possess only 10, [189] with a fairly long fragment of the fifteenth. Both works date from 315-325.

3 and 4. Besides these two treatises Eusebius wrote a *General Elementary Introduction* (Καθόλου στοιχειώδης εἰσαγωγή), of which Books VI-IX, entirely preserved, form a collection of the Old Testament prophecies realized in Jesus Christ, and a short study which later on entered into the *Theophany*, of which it forms the fourth book. The *Theophany*, in 5 books, written after 323, perhaps c. 333, is simply a summary of the *Evangelical Demonstration*, of which it reproduces entire pages. It exists in complete form only in a Syriac version.

5. Against Hierocles is a refutation of the *Philaletus*, which the governor of Bithynia had written against the Christians, c. 307. Eusebius' book, composed probably from 311 to 313, is a refutation of the life of Apollonius of Tyana, whom Hierocles had compared to Christ.

6 and 7. Two books of *Responses and Apology*, mentioned by Photius,[1] are now lost. A refutation of Porphyry in 25 books, written after 325, has also perished.

[1] *Cod.*, 13.

3. SCRIPTURAL WORKS. — Eusebius was a great student of the Bible and helped to make it better known; but he was a mediocre commentator. His historian's temperament naturally inclined him to literal exegesis, while Origen's influence favored an allegorical interpretation. It is rather to the latter influence that he yielded.

1 and 2. We are acquainted with two of his commentaries, one on the Psalms, which was later translated into Latin by Eusebius of Vercellae, and of which important fragments are still extant in Greek, and a commentary on Isaias, in 10 or 15 books, only a few fragments of which have reached us.

3. At the request of Paulinus of Tyre, and consequently before the year 331, Eusebius wrote 4 works on the geography of Palestine, the last of which alone has been preserved: a treatise on the names of the peoples mentioned in the Bible and notably in the ethnographical table in Genesis; a description of ancient Palestine and its division among the twelve tribes; a plan of Jerusalem and the temple; and finally the *Onomasticon*, *i.e*., a list of the places and cities mentioned in the Bible, with what was known of their geographical location and history. St. Jerome translated and completed this last work. [190]

4, 5, 6. Two small works, — one *On the Polygamy and Fecundity of the Patriarchs*, the other, dedicated to Constantine, in 332, *On Easter*, — are known to us only through fragments. A more considerable treatise, *On Problems and their Solutions in the Gospel*, is known by a summary of it made later. In it the author solved difficulties relative to the childhood, passion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. More studied and more utilized than these works were the *Gospel Canons*, preceded by the *Letter to Carpianus*. The author's purpose in these *Canons* was to set in relief the parallel narratives of the Gospels, so as to facilitate research. The arrangement of the narratives in sections of numbered parallel columns, enables the reader to find corresponding passages in other Gospels. The work has been preserved and has greatly influenced subsequent Gospel harmonies.

4. DOGMATICAL WORKS. — Eusebius has left us but 2 dogmatic treatises, both written in 337-338, against Marcellus of Ancyra and his system: the *Contra Marcellum*, 2 books, and the *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3 books. Eusebius is very explicit in his rejection of Sabellianism, though less so in the explanation of his personal views. His lack of theological precision did not favor a clear and vigorous exposition.

5. DISCOURSES AND LETTERS. — Of the many discourses of Eusebius only a few set speeches have been preserved: the speech pronounced at Tyre in 314 or 315 on the occasion of the consecration of a basilica; that pronounced at Constantinople July 25, 335, for the *tricennalia* of the Emperor; and a speech on the martyrs (in Syriac) delivered probably 1 at Antioch. As to the discourse of Constantine to the gathering of the Saints, appended to the *Life of Constantine,* several think Eusebius the author, while others think it was written by the Emperor himself.

Finally, Eusebius must have written many letters, although they seem never to have been collected. We possess only 3 complete letters: to Carpianus, to Flaccillus of Antioch, and to his church at Caesarea. Other letters are known only through citations. [191]

2. ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM[1]

St. Cyril was born in 313 or 315, at Jerusalem, or in the neighborhood of that city, and received his whole education there. He was ordained priest in 343 or 345, and had scarcely been consecrated bishop, in 348 or 350, when he became involved in a conflict with Acacius of Caesarea, who had secured his election to the episcopate, either on questions of jurisdiction or, more probably, on the question of faith. Although Cyril was among those whom the word ὁμοούσιος startled, as favoring Sabellianism, and purposely avoided it in his works, we cannot doubt that he acknowledged the doctrine expressed by this word and agreed substantially with Athanasius. The Arians realized this fact and had him exiled three times, in 357 or 358,

[1] Works in *P. G.*, XXXIII. See G. DELACROIX, *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1865; PH. GONNET, *De S. Cyrilli Hierosolym. Archiep. Catechesibus*, Paris, 1876.

360, and 367. His last exile, under Valens, lasted nearly twelve years. In 379, under Theodosius, he re-entered his episcopal city, assisted at the Council of Constantinople (381), where he accepted the Nicene formula, and at a second council at Constantinople in 382. He died March 18, 386.

Cyril is neither a man of superior intellect nor an original writer. He is a catechist, a popular preacher, whose homely and familiar speech is clear, pointed, and energetic. His hearers admired him very much. Though neglecting the rules of classical oratory, he often found the true eloquence of the heart.

The famous *Catecheses*, 24 in number, constitute his principal work. They are a series of instructions addressed to catechumens and the newly baptized, to explain to them the Creed which they are about to recite and the ceremonies of the Christian initiation, to which they are being admitted. The first is an introductory discourse (Προκατηχήσις) and draws the attention of the neophytes to the importance of the action they are about to perform. The 18 following, called *Catecheses of Those about to be Illumined* (κατηχήσεις φωτιζομένων), *i.e.*, those who are going to receive Baptism, explain, article by article, the Baptismal Creed of Jerusalem. The 5 last, called *Mystagogical Catecheses*, explain the three sacraments of initiation, — Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. These discourses were probably preached in 348, [192] during the weeks which preceded and followed the Easter solemnity. It is the most ancient methodical explanation of the Creed we possess, and its theological importance therefore is very great.

Besides the *Catecheses* we have from the pen of Cyril an entire homily on the paralytic healed at the piscina, and fragments of other discourses. A letter to the Emperor Constantius, on the miraculous apparition of a shining cross in 351, seems to be authentic, although later a spurious ending was appended to it.

3. St. Epiphanius[1]

St. Epiphanius was born c. 315, of a Christian family, in the hamlet of Besanduke, near Eleutheropolis, in Palestine. The pious education he received from childhood gave a definite orientation to his entire life. At an early age he visited Egypt and its monasteries, and on his return to his native land, at about twenty years of age, founded a monastery near Eleutheropolis, over which he presided thirty years, devoting his life to study and prayer. In 367 he was chosen bishop of Constantia, the ancient Salamina, in the isle of Cyprus, and passed through the reign of Valens without persecution. In 376-377 we find him actively engaged in the Apollinarian controversy, writing against his former friend Apollinaris, whom he reluctantly condemns. In 382 he was in Rome with St. Jerome, and was a guest of Paula, whom he confirmed in her resolution to visit the holy places. Then began the Origenist controversy with John of Jerusalem, in which Epiphanius was used, quite unawares, as a tool by Theophilus of Alexandria. Towards the end he seemed to realize his error, when he saw the firm attitude of St. Chrysostom. He left Constantinople hurriedly for Constantia, and died at sea, on the way back to Cyprus, in 413.

Already during his lifetime, Epiphanius was looked upon as a miracle worker and a saint, and posterity has confirmed this opinion. We find the same readiness to praise his erudition, which was considerable. The Bishop of Constantia was well versed in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Coptic; he even knew a little Latin: for the period he was a prodigy. He had read a great deal and has inserted in his works a [193] goodly number of precious documents. Unfortunately, he lacked critical acumen: as soon as he leaves the realm of contemporaneous facts, his information must be carefully sifted, for it becomes confused and inaccurate. A certain narrow-mindedness hampers him and prevents him from grasping his opponent's point of view; a restless and suspicious orthodoxy makes him see in mere opinions or unintentional errors mountains of heresy. He was of a brusque temperament, lacking intellectual refinement and experience of the world. His errors of conduct were nothing more than the consequence of his simplicity, of which people took advantage.

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[1] Works in *P. G.*, XLI-XLIII. See J. Martin, *Saint Épiphane*, in *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, CLV, CLVI (1907-1908).

His style was impersonal. He had no care for literary polish. His great defect is verbosity; he multiplies pages where a few lines would suffice. He cannot be looked upon as a great writer.

One of his earliest works is the *Ancoratus* (*The Firmly Anchored M*an), written at the request of one of his admirers, as an exposition of Christian belief. It was composed in 374 and contains an exposition of the principal dogmas, to which are appended two professions of faith, the second of the author's own composition.

The *Panarion*, or *Medicine Chest* (of remedies for all heresies) followed closely the *Ancoratus*. This, the principal work of the Bishop of Constantia, was finished in 377. It is a survey of all the heresies, with a refutation of each. The *Panarion* deals with eighty heresies; but to reach this number, which is the same as that of the concubines in the *Canticle of Canticles* (vi, 7), Epiphanius was forced to include among them mere philosophical and Jewish errors: thus it is that the barbarians, the Scythians, the Greeks, the Epicureans, the Stoics, the Pharisees, etc., are all described as heretics. The work is of unequal value. Feeble enough for the first three centuries whenever the author does not depend on St. Irenaeus or St. Hippolytus, it is great for the second and third fourths of the fourth century, the author's own time. The refutations which follow the expositions are usually of little interest. The whole book ends with a synoptic exposition of Christian belief and practice.

The *Anacephaleosis*, or *Recapitulation* of the *Panarion*, which follows in the editions, is not from the pen of St. Epiphanius, although it was made shortly after the appearance of the complete work. [194]

We have also two treatises of Biblical archeology composed by St. Epiphanius. One, *On the Weights and Measures of the Jews*, far outreaches its original purpose. It is divided into 3 parts and deals successively with the canon and versions of the Old Testament, the weights and measures of the Bible, and Biblical geography. It is more a collection of notes and sketches than a finished composition. The other treatise, *On the Twelve Precious Stones* (in the breastplate of the high-priest), is an allegorical explanation of their symbolism. The work is complete only in a Latin version, mutilated towards the end, and dates shortly before the year 394.

Finally, we may mention 2 letters, preserved in Latin, — all that remains of St. Epiphanius correspondence. A fragment of a letter against the worship of images is a spurious Iconoclast writing. The sermons, commentaries, and other writings attributed to the Bishop of Constantia must likewise be rejected as apocryphal.

4. DIODORUS OF TARSUS AND THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA

Perhaps no other city of the Roman Empire suffered more from Arian quarrels than Antioch. At the time of the Council of Nicaea, its bishop was EUSTATHIUS,[1] born at Side in Pamphylia, perhaps in 275. First bishop of Berea, he was transferred to Antioch in 323 or 324. At Nicaea he explicitly pronounced himself against Arius and dealt vigorously with the members of his clergy who shared the condemned errors. Hence he was one of the first victims of the pro-Arian reaction. Illegally deposed in 330, he was exiled to Trajanopolis and died at Philippi in 337.

Eustathius wrote a great deal, and Sozomen praises his vigorous thought, noble style, and easy composition. Unfortunately, only one of his works has reached us entire: it is the treatise *On the Witch of Endor*, in which the author maintains, against Origen, that it was not Samuel who appeared to Saul, and at the same time vigorously refutes the arbitrary method of allegorizing used by the Alexandrians. Other exegetical writings are a commentary on the Hexaëmeron, an explanation of the Psalms, a commentary on [195] Proverbs viii, 22, treatises *Against the Arians* in at least 3 books, *On the Soul* (probably in 2 parts), homilies, and letters, known only from other writers or through a few fragments.

[1] Works in *P. G.*, XVIII; PITRA, *Analecta Sacra*, II, IV; F. CAVALLERA, *S. Eustathii ep. Antioch. In Lazarum, Mariam et Martham Homilia Christologica*, Paris, 1905. See ID., *Le Schisme d'Antioche*, Paris, 1905.

The characteristics of the school of Antioch are very conspicuous in the work of Eustathius: the method of literal interpretation and, in Christology, the clear affirmation that the humanity of Jesus is complete. It is from this point of view that Eustathius may be cited as the precursor of the Antiochian doctors of the end of the fourth century.

The deposition of Eustathius was the signal for a division among Christians at Antioch, which lasted up to the year 415. While the Arians elected a series of Arian successors to Eustathius (such as Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, 330-331, and later Eudoxius), the orthodox Catholics were divided. Some, faithful to the memory of Eustathius, and for this reason called *Eustathians*, gathered around the priest Paulinus, consecrated in 362, and his successor, Evagrius (388-393); others thought it better policy not to break openly with the official Church, although they held separate gatherings under the presidency of two priests, Diodorus and Flavian. The latter finished by triumphing over the Arians, first by the election and then by the recognition of Meletius, in 361 and 378; however, they did not succeed until 415 in completely winning over the Eustathians.

DIODORUS OF TARSUS[1] was the priest who, with Flavian, the future successor of Meletius, presided over the orthodox Christians of Antioch. He was born in the city of Antioch and belonged to one of the noblest of its families. After completing his studies at Athens, he withdrew for ten years to a monastic community in the neighborhood of Antioch, the government of which he shared with Carterius. It was there that he had as his disciples Theodore, the future bishop of Mopsuestia, and St. John Chrysostom.

He left his retreat to defend his faith. With the help of Flavian he preserved from Arian contagion the orthodox Antiochians, who had kept aloof from Paulinus; fought Julian the Apostate, and resumed once more the strife against the Arian emperor, Valens. Exiled to Armenia, in 372, he returned in 378, and became bishop of Tarsus (Cilicia). In 381, [196] he assisted at the second general council, where he was mentioned as one of the reliable exponents of orthodoxy. The date of his death may be placed in 391 or 392.

Diodorus, during his life and for fifty years after his death, was the object of extraordinary esteem. He earned this by his zeal, his virtue, his spirit of detachment, and also by the rational method of exegesis which, if he did not inaugurate, he at least renewed, in the school of Antioch, and of which St. John Chrysostom is the most illustrious representative. Unfortunately, his zeal in affirming against Apollinaris that the Savior was a perfect man, and in bringing out in his writings the human side of His life prompted him to exaggerate the distinction of the two natures in Christ, and to present them, or nearly so, as two persons. Had he clearly foreseen the consequences of the formulas he used, he would very probably have disavowed them. They subsisted, nevertheless, and have led theologians ever since to look upon him as a precursor of Nestorianism. Condemned by a council held at Constantinople in 499, he was spared by the council of 553, which condemned the "Three Chapters."

The literary activity of Diodorus was wide, but almost all his works have been lost. His exegetical writings comprised, according to Suidas, commentaries on the whole of the Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, and the other Books, the Psalms, the four Books of Kings, the more difficult pas sages of Paralipomenon, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, the Prophets, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle of St. John. St. Jerome adds that he commented also upon "the Apostle," *i.e.*, the writings of St. Paul. Of all this there remain only Scholia, preserved in the *Catenae*, and perhaps the commentary on the Psalms.

In his enumeration Suidas mentions the titles of two other works touching upon the Bible:— "*What is the difference between Theory and Allegory?*" and a *Chronicle rectifying the Calculations of Eusebius on the Times*. Both are now lost. By *theory* Diodorus understood literal exegesis, which seeks out the real meaning

[1] Works in *P. G.*, XXXIII; P. DE LAGARDE, *Analecta Syriaca*, Lipsiae, 1858, 91-100. See V. ERMONI, *Diodore de Tarse et son rôle doctrinal*, in the *Muséon*, new series, II, 1901.

of figurative language, the purpose of figures and prophecies, and the moral teachings which may be drawn from events.

The dogmatical writings of Diodorus were not less numerous. Photius[1] describes at length and with extensive quotations [197] a work in 8 books *Against Astronomers and Astrologers and on Fate*. Elsewhere[2] he mentions a work in 25 books *Against the Manicheans* and[3] a work *On the Holy Ghost*. Suidas mentions treatises *On the Unity of God in the Trinity; Against the Melchisedechians; Against the Jews; On the Resurrection of the Dead; On the Soul; On Providence; Against Plato on God and Gods; On God and the so-called* [*eternal*] *Matter of the Greeks; To Euphronius the Philosopher*, on the creation of invisible natures; *Against Porphyry*, on animals and sacrifices; *Capita ad Gratianum;* and writings on *How the Eternal God can will and not will* and *How can the Divine Worker be eternal and His Works exist in Time?* Theodoret mentions a work *Against Photinus, Paul of Samosata, Sabellius and Marcellus of Ancyra;* Leontius of Byzantium cites a treatise *Against the Synousiasts* (Apollinarists); Ebedjesu speaks of a book *On the Incarnation*.

Add to this list the 5 other works named by Suidas, which deal with profane sciences, and you will have some idea of the literary fecundity of Diodorus. Of all these writings very little remains. It may well be, however, that, as Diodorus' works were translated into Syriac at an early date by the Nestorians, more of them will be discovered in Syriac manuscripts.[4]

THEODORE[5] was born at Antioch, c. 350, of rich parents. At an early date he became intimate with St. John Chrysostom and together with him followed the lessons of the famous rhetorician Libanius. Later he accompanied Chrysostom to the monastery of Carterius and Diodorus. He came very near returning to the world when two exhortations of John Chrysostom (*Ad Theodorum lapsum*) induced him to remain in the religious life. From 369 to 383 he was a disciple of Diodorus, studying the Scriptures with him.

About 383 he was ordained priest, exercised the pastoral ministry in the city of Antioch, and, in 392, was consecrated [198] bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. We have very few details concerning his episcopate. In 394, however, we find him attending a council at Constantinople, where his learning drew the attention of Theodosius. During the years 404 to 407 he showed himself the staunch defender of St. Chrysostom against his enemies. But in 418 he opened his home to the Pelagian, Julian of Eclanum, whose doctrine he defended, but later, according to Marius Mercator, condemned. Finally, in 428, he gave hospitality to Nestorius, when the latter was about to take possession of the see of Constantinople. He died in the peace of the Church, on the eve of the Nestorian conflict, "happy," writes Facundus, "not only in the splendor of his life, but also in the opportuneness of his death" (II, 1).

The memory of Theodore suffered even more than that of Diodorus from the censure of posterity. Regarded in Nestorian and Persian circles as one of the lights of the Church and as "the Interpreter," he was denounced, as early as 431, by Marius Mercator, and again, in 438, by Cyril of Alexandria, as the real theorist of Nestorianism, and was condemned as such by the fifth general council.

In his literary work we may distinguish exegetical and dogmatic or doctrinal writings.

(a) EXEGETICAL WRITINGS. — (1) A commentary on Genesis, 3 vols., of which we have Greek, Latin, and Syriac fragments. (2) A commentary in 5 books on the Psalms, a work of his youth, partially preserved in a Latin translation. (3) A commentary on the twelve minor prophets, 2 vols., the only writing of Theodore

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[1] *Cod.*, 223.

[2] *Cod.*, 85.

[3] *Cod.*, 102.

[4] The four pseudo-Justinian treatises attributed to Diodorus by Harnack are, in all probability, not from his pen.

[5] Works in *P. G.*, LXVI; H. B. SWETE, *Theodori ep. Mops*, in *Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, Cambridge, 1880-1882; CHABOT, *Commentarius Theodori Mops, in Evangelium Johannis*, Paris, 1897. See L. PIROT, *L'Oeuvre Exégétique de Théodore de Mopsueste*, Rome, 1913.

of which the original text is extant almost in its entirety. (4) A lost commenatry on each of the four great prophets. (5) A lost commentary on the first two Books of Kings. (6) A lost commentary on Job, 2 vols. (7) A lost commentary on Ecclesiastes. (8) A commentary or writing on the Canticle of Canticles, four citations of which remain. (9) A commentary on St. Matthew, a few fragments remaining. (10) A commentary on St. Luke, of which also a few fragments are left, (11) A commentary on St. John, 7 books, preserved in Syriac. (12) A commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, almost entirely lost. (13) A special commentary on each of the Epistles of St. Paul, preserved in great part either in Greek or in a Latin translation of the sixth century.

Such is the extent of his work, which has given rise to [199] so many criticisms. Theodore did not recognize the inspiration of the Book of Job, the Canticle of Canticles, and the Epistle of St. James. For a few books, especially the sapiential ones, he reduced inspiration to a mere assistance and restricted considerably the number of messianic and prophetic passages; with him literal exegesis often degenerated into rationalism.

(b) DOGMATICAL WORKS. — (1) *On the Mysteries* (lost). (2) *On Faith*, which is perhaps simply the creed cited and condemned by the Council of Ephesus[1] and which, it is thought, formed the appendix of a more extensive treatise, the *Catechism* of Marius Mercator or the *Book for the Baptised* of Facundus. (3) *On the Priesthood* (lost). (4) Two books *On the Holy Ghost*, of which there remains in Syriac an *Account* of a discussion between Theodore and the Macedonian bishops at Anazarbus,[2] written by himself, which seems to have served as an introduction or conclusion to the treatise. (5) *On the Incarnation*, a treatise in 15 books, written between 382 and 392, the best known and most frequently cited of Theodore's works; numerous fragments of it are still extant. (6) Two lost volumes, *Against Eunomius*, in 25 or 28 books, a plea in favor of St. Basil against the Anomeans. (7) Two volumes *Against Those who say that Men are Sinners by Nature and not by Will*, 5 books directed against St. Jerome and reproducing the views of Pelagius; Marius Mercator translated a few fragments of this work. (8) *Against the Magic of the Persians*, a treatise in 3 books, against the Zoroastrian dualism, known to us through Photius.[3] (9) *To the Monks*. (10) *De Obscura Locutione*. (11) *De Perfectione Operum*. Of the last three the titles alone survive. (12) *De Allegoria et Historia contra Origenem*, mentioned by Facundus. (13) *De Assumente et Assumpto*, a treatise believed to be the same as the *De Apollinario et eius Haeresi* of Facundus, and dating from 412-422. (14) A sermon on the Old and the New Law. (15) *On Miracles*, cited by the fifth general council, which perhaps did not form a separate work.

Finally, we may remark that the letters of Theodore were collected under the title of *Liber Margaritarum* and [200] that certain Nestorian churches still make use of a liturgy or *Anaphora of Theodore*, of which the substance at least is probably authentic.

5. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM[4]

St. John Chrysostom was born at Antioch, probably in 344, of a noble and wealthy family. He received his early education at the hands of his mother, Anthusa, a widow, who refused to remarry in order to devote herself entirely to the education of her son. This son at an early age gave signs of fulfilling the highest expectations. After having received an advanced education from the rhetorician Libanius and the philosopher Andragathius, he practiced law for a short time and then, on the advice of one of his friends, named Basil, devoted himself, at Home and without leaving his mother, to the exercises of the ascetical

[1] MANSI, iv, 1347.

[2] Edited by F. NAU, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ix, 635-667.

[3] *Cod.*, 81.

[4] Works in *P. G.*, XLVII-LXIV (edit. MONTFAUCON). French transl. by J. BAREILLE, Paris, 1865-1873 and JEANNIN, Bar-le-Duc, 1863-1867 and Arras, 1887-1888. See E. MARTIN, *S. Jean Chrysostome, ses Œuvres et son Siècle*, Montpellier, 1860. A. PUECH, *S. Jean Chrysostome*, Paris, 1900. ID., *S. Jean Chrysostome et les Mæurs de son Temps*, Paris, 1891; H. DACIER, *S. Jean Chrysostome et la Femme Chrétienne au IVᵉ siècle de l'Église Grecque*, Paris, 1907; CHR. BAUR, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses Œuvres dans l'Histoire Littéraire*, Louvain, 1907.

life. In 369 or 370 the bishop, who had noticed him, conferred upon him the sacrament of Baptism and the order of Lector.

In 374, after his mother's decease, John retired to a monastery on the slope of a mountain, near Antioch and, four years later, to a cave, where he lived alone, redoubling his austerities. As his health could not bear this strain, he was forced to return to Antioch about 380.

In 381, he was ordained deacon there by Meletius and, in 386, was raised to the priesthood by Flavian. Then began for him the career of preaching which was to be so fruitful. From Antioch come most of his discourses which have reached us. His eloquence had made him famous, so in 397, when the see of Constantinople became vacant, at the suggestion of the Emperor Arcadius, John was chosen as bishop. The honor was great, but the burden heavy and full of dangers for one who was bent on doing his entire duty. Laxity of morals was general among the clergy, in the monasteries, at the imperial court, and among the people. Chrysostom [201] spared no one, but administered severe admonitions to the highest. It was not long before a coalition of discontented persons was formed against him, favored by the Empress Eudoxia and comprising, together with certain members of the clergy and of the court, a few outside bishops. The leader of this movement was Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria. Called to Constantinople to give an account of his conduct, he set himself up, by the most illegal of procedures, as the judge of the Archbishop, whom, on forged or futile charges he caused to be deposed at the synod of "The Oak," near Chalcedon, by a few bishops blindly subservient to the desires of their metropolitan (403). John was sentenced to exile and forced to leave the city; but it was only to return in triumph a few days later. His people had risen up with threats, demanding the recall of their archbishop, and the imperial court, seized with fear, had been forced to accede to their demands. Unfortunately, this peace, founded on fear, was of short duration. New disorders drew forth new protestations from John, and these protestations were the cause of new measures taken against him. Deposed a second time in the same illegal way as before, he was first, in 404, exiled to Cucusus, in the valley of the Taurus, then, in 407, transferred to Arabissus and to Pityus at the foot of the Caucasus. He died during the journey, near Comana, in Pontus, Sept. 14, 407.

In outward appearance St. Chrysostom was small and thin, with a pleasant though emaciated face, wrinkled forehead, bald head, deep and singularly bright and piercing eyes. His tastes were simple, his life was one continual austerity. He was of delicate physique, open to vivid impressions, which he expressed in a very clean-cut manner. Courteous, kind, affectionate, and cheerful with his friends, he remained in his exterior relations always reserved and slightly cold. He lacked diplomatic tact and the practical part of aggressiveness. Had Athanasius or Basil been placed in the same situation, they would have defended themselves and triumphed over their opponents. When Chrysostom was attacked or calumniated, he refused to give battle, preferring always to retire. When face to face with conscienceless enemies he scrupled to stand up for his rights.

In theology, St. Chrysostom is first of all a moralist, who draws from the Christian doctrine its practical consequences. He is well acquainted with that doctrine, and in his controversial [202] discourses expounds it in a very scientific way; yet he never fathomed it for its own sake and did not become involved in theological disputes. His exegesis exhibits the same characteristics. He seeks first of all the literal meaning and does not hesitate, when necessary, to bring into the pulpit grammatical and linguistic considerations to explain a difficult passage; yet this is merely an introduction, made to disentangle the typical meaning or the moral teaching of the text. The utility of his hearers is always the sole end he has in view.

As an orator[1] he surpassed all the Greek Fathers; but, like his theology and exegesis, his eloquence was pre-eminently popular and practical. He was perfectly acquainted with the rules of oratory, and no Christian Greek writer can rival him for purity of language. This purity, however, never degenerates into purism, and it is with the widest flexibility that he applies the rules of elegance. Nothing in him savors of the rhetorician or the student. In his discourses there is very little philosophy or abstract reasoning, but much illustration,

[1] The surname "*Chrysostom*" (*Mouth of gold*) was not given to him, however, before the sixth or seventh century.

comparison, and popular argument. As he knows the life of his people thoroughly, his descriptions of customs and habits have nothing artificial or unnatural about them. Here is a father who converses with his children and who instructs, corrects, and encourages them without reserve. This conversation sometimes lasts a good long while. Chrysostom has something of Asiatic prolixity, due to the very richness of his oratorical vein as well as to the style adopted in his discourses. As these ordinarily have in view the explanation of a part of the Scripture, topics were never lacking, and the orator stopped only when he thought fit. This is why we must refrain from passing criticism upon the sermons of St. Chrysostom according to our Western and Latin criteria. Judged by our rules these sermons lack unity and proportion; several subjects are treated in the same discourse, and the discourses are too long. St. Chrysostom's hearers were not repelled by these defects, but followed without fatigue that harmonious and clear language which carried them softly onwards without burdening their minds.

No Greek Father — except perhaps Origen — has bequeathed to us so extensive a literature as St. Chrysostom. [203] Even at that we are certain that we do not possess all he produced. Several of his writings have either been lost or have yet to be disentangled from others falsely attributed to him. We shall have to wait a long time before a complete edition of his works can be made.

Among these works we may distinguish exegetical homilies, independent discourses, treatises, and letters.

(a) EXEGETICAL HOMILIES. — St. John Chrysostom has not commented upon the Scriptures except in his homilies. More than 640 of these are devoted to the explanation either of the Old or of the New Testament, and they may be divided as follows.

(1) On Genesis, two series of 9 and 67 homilies of the years 386 and 388-395, respectively.

(2) On the Books of Kings, 5 homilies *On Anna*, and 3 *On David and Saul*, all of 387.

(3) On the Psalms, homilies on 58 Psalms, — iv-xii, xli, xliii-xlix, cviii-cxvii, cxix-cl: they date from the end of his career at Antioch.

(4) On the prophets in general, 2 homilies, both written in 386 or 387; on Isaias vi, 6 homilies; and other homilies on the same prophet which a later pen transformed into a commentary proper.

(5) On St. Matthew's Gospel, 90 homilies, preached c. 390.

(6) On St. Luke, 7 homilies On Lazarus, preached probably in 388.

(7) On St. John, 88 homilies, preached c. 383.

(8) On the Acts of the Apostles, 55 homilies, delivered in 400-401; and 8 more ancient homilies, preached at Antioch in 388.

(9) On the different epistles of St. Paul, more than 250 homilies preached at Antioch or at Constantinople. The homilies on the Epistle to the Galatians have been reduced to a commentary by another pen.

The most remarkable of these homilies are those on the Psalms and those on the Epistle to the Romans.

(b) INDEPENDENT DISCOURSES. — By independent discourses we mean those which do not form part of a continuous series of Scriptural homilies. They number more than 100 and fall into different categories. The majority are moral and ascetical sermons, such as the sermons *In Kalendis, Contra Circenses Ludos et Theatra*, *De Eleemosyna*, etc. [204] Others are dogmatico-polemical, such as the 12 homilies *Contra Anomoeos* and the 8 *Adversus Judaeos*. Then there are the *Festal Discourses* (Christmas, Epiphany, Passion, Easter, etc.); *Panegyrics* of saints of both the Old and the New Testaments (Job, Eleazar, Romanus, Ignatius, Babylas, etc.), of which the most remarkable are the seven *De Laudibus Sti. Pauli*; and finally occasional discourses, the most famous of which are the *Homiliae XXI de Statuis*, preached in 387.

(c) TREATISES. — Besides his oratorical work, St. Chrysostom has left us a number of treatises, usually brief and in lecture form.

(1) Two of these are apologetical in character: *Against the Jews and the Heathen on the Divinity of Christ*, a demonstration of the divinity of our Lord from the prophecies, and *In Honor of St. Babylas*, written c. 382 against Julian the Apostate and the heathen.

(2) Two are disciplinary writings, which probably come from 397: *Adversus eos qui apud se habent Virgines Subintroductas* and *Quod Regulares Feminae* (αἱ κανονικαί) *Viris cohabitare non debeant*.

(3) Four deal with the monastic life: the 2 *Paraeneses ad Theodorum lapsum*, written in 369 or between 371 and 378, the second one in epistolary form; the 2 books *On Compunction*, written in 375-376 or 381-385; the 3 books *Against the Enemies of Monasticism*, 376 or 381-385; and the little work entitled *Comparison between a King and a Monk*, which followed closely upon them.

(4) Three deal with virginity and continence: the book *On the Virginal State*, written at Antioch, the consolatory epistle *To a Young Widow*, c. 380; and the *De non Iterando Conjugio*, probably of the same date.

(5) We also possess 6 books on the priesthood, *De Sacerdotio*, in dialogue form, one of the Saint's most frequently cited writings (381-385); a treatise on the education of children entitled *On Vanity and how Parents should bring up their Children*; on the usefulness of suffering, the first 3 books *Ad Stagirium a Daemone Vexatum* (381-385); and the two short writings *Quod Nemo laeditur nisi a Seipso* and *Ad eos qui Scandalizati sunt ob Adversitates*, written during his exile (405-406).

(d) LETTERS. — There are extant about 240 letters of St. Chrysostom, most of them quite brief, all dating from his [205] second exile. The majority of them are addressed to friends, giving news of his exile and rousing their courage. Some deal with the state of the Church in such or such a country and with the evangelization of the heathen. Among these letters we must mention 2 to Pope Innocent I, written in 404 and 406, and 17 to the deaconess Olympias, praising especially the sanctifying virtue of suffering. Nowhere better than in these letters shine forth the deep faith and eminent holiness of St. Chrysostom.

6. THEODORET AND THE GROUP OF ORIENTAL WRITERS

The condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus did not meet, as we know, with unanimous support. A goodly number of the bishops of the patriarchate of Antioch (*Orientals*, *i.e.*, of the civil diocese of the East, as they were called) remained for a short time faithful to the condemned heresiarch. The most famous of these was Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus.

THEODORET[1] was born at Antioch c. 393 of a rich family, and seems to have received his training in the monastic schools of that city or neighborhood. Theodore of Mopsuestia was his master in exegesis and Nestorius his fellow student. He had been seven years in the monastery of Nicerta, when he was made bishop of Cyrus, in Euphratesian Syria. This diocese was immense, partly populated by pagans, Jews, and heretics. The new bishop set himself zealously to convert them, interrupting his labors only once a year, when he went to Antioch to display the splendor of his eloquence. When Nestorius was condemned by the Pope, Theodoret at first joined hands with John of Antioch in advising him to submit; but the publication of St. Cyril's anathematisms shocked him and, persuaded as he was that they contained Apollinarianism, he attacked them with violence and always maintained towards their author, even after the latter had explained himself, prejudices which never completely disappeared. At Ephesus he was naturally to be found in the party of John of Antioch, opposed to Cyril, refusing [206] first of all to subscribe to the "Union" of 433, although the creed of this "Union" was his own work, and joining the "Union" only in 435, when it had been formally declared that Nestorius would not be condemned. In 438, he again undertook to defend the memory of Theodore of Mopsuestia against the attacks of Cyril and Rabbulas. He had hoped that the death

[1] Works in *P. G.*, LXXX-LXXXIV (edit. GARNIER-SCHULZE). For the letters discovered by J. SAKKELION, see his edition, Athens, 1885. A new edit, of the *Church History* has been made in the collection of Berlin by PARMENTIER, Leipzig, 1911. See the Dissertations of P. GARNIER reprinted in *P. G.*, LXXXIV and AD. BERTRAM, *Theodoreti ep. Cyrensis Doctrina Christologica*, Hildesiae, 1883.

of Cyril, in 444, would restore peace to the Church. The appearance of Eutyches and the Robber Synod of Ephesus cruelly undeceived him. Deposed by the followers of Dioscorus, and treated as an excommunicated person who should be avoided, he was virtually held prisoner in his monastery at Nicerta. Theodoret then appealed to Pope Leo, and, in 450, things took a new turn. Summoned to the Council of Chalcedon, he was received there in spite of the opposition of the bishops of Egypt and Palestine, but had to take an open stand and anathematize Nestorius, after which he was able to return to his diocese, there to spend in peace the remainder of his life. Gennadius affirms that he lived until the year 457-458; Tillemont places his death in 453, at the latest.

Theodoret was an upright man and a very sympathetic character. Pious, modest, a natural lover of silence and peace, and devoted to his people, he would be honored by the Church as one of her most authentic saints had he not been too much attached to Nestorius. This fidelity to his friend — in itself praiseworthy — sometimes clouded his judgment and led him into regrettable mistakes. From a literary point of view, Theodoret is the last of the great writers of the Greek Church. He passed as one of the best orators of his time, and his commentaries, "excellent in substance and form, precision and clearness," would make him the prince of exegetical writers if they were not what he himself says they are, — a compilation of the best of what the school of Antioch had produced. His memory, like that of his masters, Diodorus and Theodore, has suffered from the bitterness of theological strife. Yet the Council of 553, which condemned some of his works, cast no shadow on his name, nor questioned the sincerity of his views.

Among the works of Theodoret we find exegetical, apologetical, dogmatico-polemical and historical writings, discourses, and letters.

1. EXEGETICAL WRITINGS. — These comprise: (a) a series of detached explanations of the more difficult passages of [207] the Pentateuch, Josue, Judges, Ruth, the four Books of Kings, and the Books of Paralipomena, written in catechetical form towards the end of his life; (b) a continuous commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, written in 425; another on the Psalms, 433-445; a third on the minor and major Prophets (the commentary on Daniel was written in 426); and a fourth on the Epistles of St. Paul, written 431-434.

2. APOLOGETICAL WRITINGS. — Theodoret is the author of the last and most perfect apology produced by the Greek Church. In the *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* (*The Art of Treating Greek Distempers*), in 12 books, written from 429 to 437, he compares heathen teachings with those of the Christians and shows the truth of the latter. To this great work must be added the 12 discourses *On God's Providence*, believed to have been delivered at Antioch before 431. A treatise against the Persian magicians has been lost. There remains a fragment of another work, *Against the Jews*.

3. DOGMATICO-POLEMICAL WRITINGS. — Foremost among the polemical writings of Theodoret must be placed his refutation of the anathematisms of St. Cyril, written in 430 and preserved, probably complete, in the answer of the Bishop of Alexandria. This was followed shortly by the *Pentalogium de Incarnatione*, composed c. 432, of which we have only Greek and Latin fragments. In this work also we find an attack against St. Cyril's theology. Between 431 and 435 Theodoret produced 2 works, *On the Holy and Vivifying Trinity* and *On the Incarnation of the Lord*, both wrongly printed among the works of St. Cyril.[1] In a final and lengthy treatise he comes back to the Christological question. This work is entitled *Eranistes* (*The Beggar*), in 4 books (447), and in it the author establishes successively against the Eutychians that the Word remained unchanged in the Incarnation (ἄτρεπτος), without mixture (ἀσύγχυτος) and impassible (ἀπαθὴς); the fourth book is a summary of the preceding argument. As to the *Letter to Sporacius* or *Libellus contra Nestorium*, its authenticity is very doubtful.

4. HISTORICAL WRITINGS. — Theodoret wrote 3 historical works: (a) A *Church History* (c. 450), in 5 books, which records the events of the period 323-428. The author made use not only of Eusebius but also of Socrates, Sozomen and probably of Rufinus. (b) A *Religious History*, a series of short sketches of the

[1] *P. G.*, LXXV, 1147-1190; 1419-1478.

most famous ascetics of the East, [208] written c. 440; it closes with a short treatise *On Divine and Holy Charity*, (c) A *Short History of the Heresies* (*Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*), in 5 books, written in 453. The passage at the end of Book IV, which concerns Nestorius, is probably an interpolation. Book V is an exposition of the orthodox doctrine.

5. DISCOURSES AND LETTERS. — Besides the sermons on Providence, already mentioned, we have only a few fragments or citations of the discourses of Theodoret. There are extant, however, about 230 letters of the highest historical and dogmatic interest, which reveal at their best the talent and character of their author. Of this number, 48 were edited only in 1885.

Among the Eastern writers who fought with Theodoret against Cyril, a few have left writings. JOHN, bishop of Antioch, official leader of the party, left several letters.[1] ANDREW, bishop of Samosata, attacked Cyril's anathematisms in the name of the group; fragments of his writings have been preserved in the reply of the Patriarch of Alexandria and also a few of his letters.[2] PAUL, bishop of Emesa, also a member of this group, was mediator between Cyril and John in 433; he left a letter and some homilies.[3] IBAS, bishop of Edessa, wrote a famous letter to Maris, bishop of Ardaschir in Persia, probably in 433.[4] This letter was violently insulting to Cyril and was condemned at the Council of 553.

7. LESSER AUTHORS

The names given so far of writers of the Antiochian patriarchate, during the period 313-460, are far from constituting a full list. For completeness sake we will name a few others, choosing those who are better known.

HEGEMONIUS is an author who must have lived in Northern Syria, but about whom we have no information. His book *Acta Disputationis Archelai Episcopi Mesopotamiae et Manctis Haeresiarchae*, a mock report of a discussion, serves as a framework for a refutation of Manicheism. The work is valuable for the details, taken from excellent [209] sources, which it gives on this heresy. It was composed between 325 and 348 and, except for a few Greek quotations, is extant only in a Latin version of the IVth century.[5]

We have seen that at Antioch EVAGRIUS, in 388, succeeded Paulinus as bishop of the Eustathians. St. Jerome, whose friend he was, assures us that he composed *treatises* which had not yet been edited in 392.[6] All that remains of his work is a Latin translation of his *Life of St. Antony*, made by St. Athanasius.[7]

From 381 to 404 the Meletian orthodox Christians of Antioch had as their bishop, in opposition to Evagrius, FLAVIAN, the friend of Diodorus of Tarsus and bishop of St. John Chrysostom. We possess a complete summary of his treatise on Fraternal Charity and fragments of other discourses. Photius was acquainted with 2 of his letters relative to the Messalians.[8]

Among St. Chrysostom's most rabid opponents were ACACIUS of Beraea, ANTIOCHUS of Ptolemais, and SEVERIANUS of Gabala, men whom he refused to accept as his judges.

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1 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1449.

2 *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1611.

3 *P. G.*, LXXVII, 1433; cf. LXXXVI, 2, 1828.

4 MANSI, *Concil.*, VII, 241.

5 Edition by CH. H. BEESON, *Acta Archelai*, Leipzig, 1906 (collection *Schriftsteller* of Berlin).

6 *Vir. Ill.*, 125.

7 *P. G.*, xxvi, 835.

8 *Cod.*, 52. See *P. G.*, XLVIII, 945-952; LXXXIII, 77, 204; LXXXVI, 1, 1313; 2, 1840.

ACACIUS was bishop of Beraea from 378 to 432, and lived to be more than a hundred years of age. He was a zealous man, mixed up with all the questions of his time, but not always sound in judgment. Of his voluminous correspondence only three letters have survived.[1]

ANTIOCHUS (d. 403-408) was an elegant orator, who was very much liked and admired at Constantinople, and whom his contemporaries surnamed Chrysostom. Gennadius[2] attributes to him a treatise *Against Avarice*, now lost. Only one of his discourses has been preserved entire.[12]

SEVERIANUS also had a great reputation as an orator and, in spite of his rough Syrian accent, preached with success at court. His commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, mentioned by Gennadius,[3] is now lost; but there have been [210] preserved in Greek, Armenian, Syriac or Coptic at least 26 complete discourses, as well as fragments and citations, of which a good edition has yet to be made.[4]

Theodore of Mopsuestia had a brother, named POLYCHRONIUS, who became bishop of Apamea in Syria and died between 428 and 431. He commented upon Job, Ezechiel, Daniel, and probably on other books, and of this work a fair number of *Scholia* have reached us in the *Catenae*, He belonged to the historical school of Antioch, but nothing proves that he shared the erroneous views of his brother.[5]

Another exegete of the Antiochian school, ADRIAN, priest and monk, in the beginning of the fourth century, has left us an *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*.[6]

We are acquainted with only one work of NEMESIUS, bishop of Emesa in Phoenicia, who is usually placed at the beginning of the fifth century; it is entitled *On the Nature of Man* and is rather philosophical. The author shows himself strongly imbued with Neo-Platonism. His book was translated into several languages and much read during the middle ages.[7]

A little later we find, to the northeast of Antioch, in Isauria, BASIL OF SELUCIA, the bishop-orator (d. c. 459). He sided at first with Flavian of Constantinople against Eutyches, next with Dioscorus against Flavian, then with St. Leo against Dioscorus, and ended in orthodoxy. We possess 41 of his sermons, of which 15, known to Photius,[8] are certainly authentic. The work is ornate and erudite, but labored and affected. A life of St. Thecla in verse, which he is supposed to have written, is lost.[9]

Passing from the circle of Antioch to that of Jerusalem, we meet, first of all, with a certain GELASIUS, a nephew of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who, in 367, succeeded Acacius in the see of Caesarea. As he was a staunch Nicaean, he was forced, in 373, to surrender his see to the Semi-Arian [211] Euzoius, returning only in 379. In 381, he assisted at the Council of Constantinople, and died in 395. He was, says St. Jerome,[10] an author of careful and polished style, who did not publish what he wrote. The *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, however, cites some of his works (pp. 31, 92, 102). He seems also to have written a sequence to Eusebius Church History, known to Photius.[11]

In the city of Jerusalem itself we must note Bishop JOHN (386-417), a man of eloquence and virtue, whose life was troubled by a quarrel with St. Jerome and St. Epiphanius concerning Origenism, and also by the

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[1] *P. G.*, LXXVII, 99-102; LXXXIV, 647, 658.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 20. Edition of St. John Chrysostom by SAVILES, Eton, 1612, v, 648-653.

[3] *Vir. Ill.*, 21.

[4] See for details BARDENHEWER, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Liter.*, III, p. 363 ff.

[5] *P. G.*, CLXH. See O. BARDENHEWER, *Polychronius*, Freiburg i. B., 1879.

[6] *P. G.*, XCVIII and F. GOESSLING, Berlin, 1888.

[7] *P. G.*, XL, 594-817. See B. DOMANSKI, *Die Psychologie des Nemesius*, Münster, 1900.

[8] *Cod.*, 168.

[9] *P. G.*, LXXXV. The life of St. Thecla in prose (*P. G.*, *ibid.*, 477-618) is probably not the work of Basil.

[10] *Vir. Ill.*, 130.

[11] *Cod.*, 89.

Pelagian controversy. There remains of his work a profession of faith, written in 415, and many extracts from a memoir to Theophilus of Alexandria, composed in 397, on Origenism. Other letters are lost.[1]

A little later, at Jerusalem, a monk named HESYCHIUS (d. after 451) distinguished himself by his Scriptural works. We have a commentary of his on the Psalms, edited among the works of St. Athanasius,[2] and some glosses on the Prophets. A commentary in Latin on Leviticus, a Church History cited under his name, and other writings or fragments of writings are less authentic.[3]

Not far from Jerusalem, probably at Bethlehem, lived a friend of St. Jerome, named SOPHRONIUS. He wrote[4] a book on Bethlehem, another on the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria, and translated into Greek several Latin works of St. Jerome. Of these translations perhaps only the *Life of Hilarion* and the *Life of Malchus* have been preserved.

More famous was TITUS, bishop of Bostra, well known from his relations with Julian the Apostate, who died under the reign of Valens (364-378). He is best known by his work *Against the Manicheans*, in 4 books. The first two, and the third up to the middle of Chapter VII, have been preserved in Greek; the rest is extant only in a Syriac translation, which seems accurate. Although the work is a little long and diffuse, it is interesting on account of the citations [212] it contains from Manichean books. Besides this, Titus has left us a commentary on St. Luke, in the form of homilies, which has been partly reconstructed, as well as fragments of a sermon on the Epiphany.[5]

One century later, ANTIPATER, one of Titus successors in the see of Bostra, wrote against Pamphilus' *Apology* of Origen and against the Apollinarists. Only a few fragments of these 2 works have been preserved, together with 4 homilies or fragments of homilies.[6]

ST. NILUS, a disciple of St. Chrysostom and former prefect of the praetorium at Constantinople, withdrew, c. 390, to the mountain of Sinai, in southern Arabia, where he lived with his son till his death, about the year 430. The authority of his writings was great and always remained so among the ascetics. These writings comprise about 12 treatises on the Christian and monastic life and virtues, a collection of apophthegms, and more than 1000 dogmatic, exegetical, and moral letters, a goodly number of which are nothing but extracts selected from previous authors and Fathers — St. Irenaeus, St. Basil, etc., — but none the less precious for history.[7]

MARCUS EREMITA, another disciple of St. John Chrysostom and a contemporary of St. Nilus, was abbot of a monastery in Galatia, but became a solitary in his old age, probably in the desert of Juda. Photius[8] was acquainted with 9 ascetical and dogmatical treatises by him, which we still possess. A treatise *Adversus Nestorianos* is doubtful, and the *Capitula de Temperantia* is a later compilation.[9]

Another MARCUS, a deacon at Gaza, wrote, c. 420, the life of his bishop, St. Porphyry (395-419).[10]

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[1] CASPARI, *Ungedruckte ... Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols*, I, Christiania, 1866, p. 161-212.

[2] *P. G.*, xxvii, 649-1344.

[3] *P. G.*, xciii.

[4] *Vir. Ill.*, 134.

[5] *P. G.*, XVIII, 1069-1264, better edit, by P. DE LAGARDE, *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos ... servata sunt graece*, Berolini, 1859; ID., *Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos Libri quatuor syriace, Berolini*, 1859. J. SICKENBERGER, *Titus von Bostra, Studien zu des sen Lukashomilien*, Leipzig, 1901 (*T. U.*).

[6] *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1763-1796.

[7] *P. G.*, LXXIX. See FESSLER-JUNGMANN, *Institutions Patrologiae*, II, 2, p. 108-128.

[8] *Cod.*, 200.

[9] *P. G.*, LXV. See J. KUNZE, *Markus Eremita*, Leipzig, 1895.

[10] *P. G.*, LXV, better edit, by the Philological Society of Bonn, Leipzig, 1895. See A. NUTH, *De Marci Diaconi Vita Porphyrii, episc. Gazensis*, Bonnae, 1897.

Finally we must name the two Cypriot bishops: TRIPHYLLIUS, bishop of Ledra during the reign of Constantius, mentioned [213] by St. Jerome[1] as one of the most eloquent men of his epoch, whose writings are lost; and PHILO, bishop of Carpasia, c. 400, of whose works there remains, in a Latin translation and a Greek summary, a commentary on the Canticle of Canticles.[2]

8. The Apostolic Constitutions and Other Disciplinary Writings

Under the title of Constitutions of the Holy Apostles by Clement (Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος)[3] we possess a long work in 8 books, which may be divided into three parts. The first six books are only an enlarged recension of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, modified chiefly in their more strictly liturgical and disciplinarian parts in order to adapt them to the conditions and needs of the time. The seventh book (ch. 1-32) is a paraphrase and enlargement of the *Didache;* in chs. 33-49 are found various prayer formularies (chs. 33-38, 47-49), rules for the instruction of catechumens and the administration of baptism (chs. 39-45), and a list of the bishops consecrated by the Apostles (ch. 46). The formulae and instructions are evidently reproductions of more ancient texts. Finally, the eighth book, the most original for us, deals first with the charismata (chs. 1, 2), then with the ceremonies of ordination (chs. 3-27), in which is inserted a liturgy of the Mass (chs. 6-15), and lastly with different prescriptions relative to the life of the Christian community (28-46). These prescriptions close (ch. 47) with the 85 so-called Apostolic canons. The whole work purports to be by Clement, the disciple of the Apostles and bishop of Rome.

Although the *Apostolic Constitutions* are a compilation of several works, and although slight contradictions on secondary points may be seen in the different parts, the work is nevertheless the product of one author, who must have compiled it at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century in Syria, since the liturgy they contain corresponds [214] exactly to that used at Antioch around the year 400. The author is unknown, but we are inclined to identify him with the Apollinarist or the Semi-Arian who interpolated the epistles of St. Ignatius in their longer recension. His writing is neither doctrinal nor polemical, but purely disciplinary. His attempt at forgery did not fully succeed. The Quinisext Council (692) accepted the 85 Apostolic canons, yet, while acknowledging the rest of the constitutions as the work of the Apostles and of Clement, it considered the text to have been altered by heretics, and therefore rejected it. In the West, until the sixteenth century, only the first 50 canons, inserted by Dionysius Exiguus in his collection, were known.

Connected with the Apostolic Constitutions are a number of disciplinary writings which are derived from them, or perhaps, as some authors think, constitute their sources.

1. The *Didascalia Arabica et Aethiopica* is a recension of the first 6 books of the "Apostolic Constitutions" and consequently of the original "Didascalia Apostolorum." It is believed that the Ethiopic text is derived from the Greek through Arabic and Coptic translations.[4]

2. The *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*, or *Epitome*, in 5 parts, are almost literal extracts from the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" (chs. 1-2, 4-5, 16-18, 30-34, 42-46). The second part alone claims to be the work of St. Hippolytus. According to Funk the whole work dates from c. 425.[5]

3. The *Egyptian Church Ordinance,* according to Achelis, is the second part of the Egyptian monophysite ecclesiastical code of which the "Ecclesiastical Canons" are the first. It comprises 32 canons (31-62) for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, catechumens, baptism, fasting, etc., and is preserved in Coptic, Ethiopian, Arabic,

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 92.

[2] *P. G.*, XL. Cf. BARDENHEWER, *Gesch. der altkirch. Liter.*, III, p. 303.

[3] *P. G.*, I; better edit, by F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderbornae, 1905. Cf. F. X. FUNK, *Die apostolischen Constitutionen*, Rottenburg, 1891.

[4] See TH. PELL PLATT, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London, 1834; F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitut. Apost.*, II, p. 120 ff.

[5] FUNK, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 72 ff.

and partly in Latin. Funk thinks it is derived from the preceding document and was compiled about A. D. 450.[1]

4. *The Testament of Our Lord*, in two parts. The first is eschatological, containing the prophecies of Christ concerning the last days, and was probably at first an independent work, while the second and disciplinary part is [215] closely bound up with the text of the "Egyptian Church Ordinance" and was composed probably c. 475 in Syria.[2]

5. *The Canons of Hippolytus*, altogether 38, comprising 261 numbers, is a very important document, extant in Arabic and Ethiopian, which Funk believes to be derived in its actual form from the "Egyptian Church Ordinance" at the end of the fifth century at the latest.[3]

We have already had occasion to note that several critics reverse the interdependence of these writings. According to Achelis, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, composed before 235, have been the source of the *Egyptian Church Ordinance* (c. 300), whence came, before 400, the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*, or *Epitome*; then, shortly before 400, the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; and finally, after 400, the *Testament of Our Lord*. Dom R. H. Connolly looks upon the *Egyptian Church Ordinance* as the primary and immediate source of all the other documents, except the *Epitome*.[4]

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[1] FUNK, *loc. cit.*, p. 97 ff.

[2] Edition of the Syriac text and Latin transl. by I. E. RAHMANI, Mayence, 1899. Edition of the Ethiopian text and French transl. by L. GUERRIER, in *Patrologia Orientalis* (GRAFFIN-NAU), ix, fasc. 3, Paris, 1913. See L. GUERRIER, *Le Testament de N. S. J.-C.*, Lyons, 1903.

[3] Edition by D. B. VON HANEBERG, Munich, 1870. See L. DUCHESNE, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 3 édit., and H. ACHELIS, *Die Canones Hippolyti*, Leipzig, 1891 (*T. U.*, vi, 4).

[4] *The so-called Egyptian Order and Derived Documents*, Cambridge, 1916 (*Texts and Studies*, VIII, 4).

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SECTION V

SYRIAC WRITERS

1. APHRAATES AND ST. EPHRAEM

The history of Christian literature in Syria is divided into three periods: (1) From the establishment of the Church in Mesopotamia, c. 150, up to the Council of Chalcedon and the Nestorian and Monophysite outbreak in 451; (2) From that period up to the conquest of Syria and Babylonia by the Arabs, in 636; and (3) The period of Arabian domination until the thirteenth century. In this section we have to deal only with the first of these periods.

The second and third centuries gave but few works to Syriac literature. Outside of the biblical translations, we find only a few original works, already mentioned: Tatian's *Diatessaron*, Bardesanes' writings, and some New Testament apocrypha. In the fourth century it received a new impetus with Aphraates and St. Ephraem.

Almost nothing is known of the life of APHRAATES.[1] He must have been born c. 275-285, of pagan (?) parents, and became a Christian and then a monk. Later on, he was made bishop of a see which is not known with certainty (perhaps Mar Mattai, north of Mossul), but which was situated in the kingdom of Persia, as indicated by the surname given to Aphraates, — "the Persian Sage." Aphraates seems to have taken the name of James at his ordination, a circumstance which has led certain writers to confound him with James of Nisibis. We do not know the date of his death; at any rate it was not before the year 345.

We possess 23 letters of Aphraates, sometimes called *Homilies*, *Discourses* or *Demonstrations*, arranged alphabetically, each beginning with one of the consonants of the Syriac alphabet. The first 10 were written in 336-337 in answer to a friend; the next 12 in 343-344; and the last in [217] the month of August, 345. They are dogmatic, but mostly parenetical instructions on faith, fasting, prayer, the resurrection, Christ the true son of God, etc. They are also works of controversy written in self-defence against the Jews and their practices, — circumcision, the Sabbath, etc. Finally, all, and especially the last, are cries of anguish at the "great Christian massacre" going on under the persecution of Sapor II. In spite of their unpracticed and diffuse style, their obscurities and tiresome repetitions, these letters are of the highest interest for the history of the internal life of the Persian Church and Persian monachism, and for the history of theology.

ST. EPHRAEM[2] is the greatest among the exponents of Syrian orthodox Christianity. The life of the Saint, however, is not accurately known, because it became obscured by legends at an early date. St. Ephraem was born at Nisibis, c. 306, probably of Christian parents. At an early age he felt himself drawn towards the religious and monastic life. His bishop, James of Nisibis (d. c. 338), placed great confidence in him, and during the years 338, 346, and 350, when Nisibis was besieged by the armies of Sapor II, he seems to have rendered distinguished services to his fellow-citizens by strengthening their courage against the foe. In 363, however, Nisibis, in virtue of the treaty of peace, was handed over to the king of Persia. Ephraem then with drew with the mass of the Christians of the city to Roman territory at Edessa. There he spent the

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[1] Edit. by D. PARISOT, in *Patrologia Syriaca* (GRAFFIN), tom, I and II. See J. FORGET, *De Vita et Scriftis Aphraatis Sapientis Persae*, Louvain, 1882. J. M. CHAVANIS, *Les lettres d'Afrahat, le Sage de la Perse*, Saint-Étienne, 1908.

[2] Most of St. Ephraem's works are contained in four principal collections: I. The Roman edition: *S. Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia quac exstant, gracce, syriacc, et latine*, recens. P. Benedictus, Jos. et St. Evod. Assemanus, Rpmae, 1737-1746. The first three volumes comprise the Syriac writings; the Greek writings are contained in the three last volumes, also numbered I-III. 2. J. OVERBECK, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae ... Opera Selecta*, Oxford, 1865. 3. G. BICKELL, *S. Ephraem Syri Carmina Nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866. 4. J. LAMY, *S. Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, 3 vol., Malines, 1882-1889. M. S. J. MERCATI has begun a fifth collection, of which only the first part has been published: *S. Ephraem Syri Opera*, Romae, 1915. See J. LAMY, *Saint Ephrem*, in the *Université Catholique*, 1910, vol. III and IV; C. EIRAINER, *Der hl. Ephraem der Syrer*, Kempten, 1880; and the notice of FESSLER-JUNGMANN, *Instit. Patrol.*, II, I, p. 10 ff.

last ten years of his life, instructing disciples who came to him, preaching and composing numerous writings. He always remained in deacon's orders and died in 373, probably on June 9. [218]

St. Ephraem wrote chiefly for the people and for the monks; hence he did not aim at philosophical or theological speculation, nor did he thoroughly fathom theological questions. The faith he expounds and defends is merely the faith of the Church, such as it is taught to the rank and file of Christians. Yet he displays in his works, and especially in his moral exhortations, a fire, a liveliness, and a burning zeal which make them very impressive and won for them a widespread popularity. Ephraem had the soul of a poet, with a rich, colorful imagination, which he sometimes used to excess; his manner has nothing of the logical regularity of the writings of the West, but is carried along more by feeling than by well-ordered reason. This method was best adapted to the minds of those to whom his works were addressed; for the very prolixity of the writer and his lengthy periods, often criticised by modern authors, were in the eyes of his readers a claim to glory and merit. It is because he so perfectly reflected the Syrian genius by his qualities and, we might add, by his defects, that the Christians whose language he spoke, always considered him their greatest writer.

We lack a complete and exact edition of the works of St. Ephraem. Many of them have perished; many others, translated into Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic, have been so re-arranged, enlarged, and abbreviated as to alter the primitive text.

The authentic writings have to be searched out in various collections.

These writings are divided, according to form, into prose and metrical; and, according to contents, into exegetical, dogmatico-polemic, moral, and ascetic compositions.

a) PROSE WRITINGS. — With the exception of a few discourses, the prose writings of St. Ephraem coincide with his exegetical works. St. Ephraem commented upon the whole of the Bible, except, perhaps, the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament. Only the commentaries on Genesis and Exodus (up to ch. xxxii, 26) have been preserved in the complete Syriac text. We possess besides, some Syriac fragments gathered from the *Catena* made in 851-861 by Severus of Edessa. These fragments refer to the Pentateuch, Josue, Judges, Kings, Job, and all the Prophets. There are also extant in an Armenian translation a commentary on Paralipomenon, one on the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and one on the Epistles of St. Paul (except the Epistle to Philemon). As a rule the exegetical method of [219] St. Ephraem is like that of the school of Antioch; in his homilies it is historical and literal; in his hymns and discourses it drifts into allegory.

b) METRICAL WRITINGS. — The dogmatic and moral works of St. Ephraem are nearly all written in metrical form. Syriac verse is founded, not on the quality of the syllables, but solely on their number. St. Ephraem uses the seven-syllable line almost exclusively. In the ordinary homilies and discourses these verses simply follow one another; in the hymns they are grouped together into in strophes, ranging from 4 to 12 verses in length, and sometimes intermingled with shorter strophes, which serve as a refrain. Homilies and poetical discourses (Mîmrê) and hymns (Madrâschê, properly, instructions) may have the same speculative or practical object: the form alone differs and but slightly.

α) Among the dogmatico-polemical writings of St. Ephraem must be placed the 56 discourses against the heresies (II Syr., 437-560), directed in particular against Bardesanes, Marcion, and Manes; the 48 discourses *Against the Scrutinizes* (III Syr., 1-150), *viz*., those heretics who attacked the Trinity or the Incarnation; the 7 discourses *On the Pearl, or On Faith* (III Syr., 150-164) and also 3 others *On Faith* (*Ibid.*, 164-208); the discourses against the Jews (*Ibid.*, 209-224); the discourse *De Domino nostro* (on the Incarnation; Lamy, I, 145-274); the 4 poems against Julian the Apostate; and the 2 discourses (in prose) against the heretics and the Jews (Overbeck, I ff.)

β)To the Homilies belong 12 exegetical sermons on various passages of the Old Testament (II Syr., 316-395), 12 discourses on Paradise (III Syr., 562-598), and 10 on Joseph sold by his brothers (Lamy, III, 249-640).

γ) The discourses on the mysteries of Our Lord and the panegyrics on the saints of the Old and New Testaments (form an important part of our author's work. There we find 22 sermons on the birth of Christ (II Syr., 396-436; III Syr., 599; Lamy, II, 427-516); 15 on the Epiphany (Lamy, I, 1-144); 41 others on different mysteries (Lamy, *passim*); 20 on the Blessed Virgin (Lamy, II, 517-642); and others on the Apostles, martyrs and confessors.

δ) In the writings we have just enumerated St. Ephraem never fails to give prominence to practical exhortations. Yet he has dealt in an exclusive way with moral and ascetical questions in a good many discourses and poems, some of [220] which pass as his best compositions. In 4 discourses he lays down the foundations of morality, treating the question of free will (III Syr., 359-366). Then follows a whole series of treatises or sermons relative to the Christian, priestly, and monastic life, into the details of which it would take too long to enter. Among them we must mention the 76 exhortations to penance (III Syr., 367-561) and the discourses on the Rogations (Lamy, 1-126). The *Carmina Nisibena*, so called because many of these poems deal with Nisibis and its history, may also be classed as a whole among his works on Christian morality (Bickell).

ε) Finally, we have 85 discourses or funeral hymns of St. Ephraem, pronounced or sung at the funerals of Christians of all ranks and conditions, bishops, priests, monks and laymen. They are extremely interesting for the study of the customs and liturgy of the time (III Syr., 225-359).

The authenticity of St. Ephraem's *Testament* (II Gr., 395-410) is contested.

2. Lesser Writers

Among the disciples of St. Ephraem mentioned as having written some works, we find Mar Aba, author of a commentary on the Gospels and other exegetical works; Zenobius, a deacon of Edessa, who wrote some epistles, treatises against Marcion and Pamphilus, and a life of St. Ephraem; and a certain Paulonas, who wrote treatises against heretics and sacred hymns.[1]

To the end of the fourth century belong the names of Cyrillonas and Gregory. The first must be identified with Absamya, a nephew of St. Ephraem. Only 6 of his Carmina, one dating from 397, have been preserved, and they bear evidence of true poetical talent.[2] Gregory was a contemporary of St. Ephraem, who left us some letters as well as a treatise on the ascetic life.[3]

With Maruthas, bishop of Maipherkat, we enter the fifth century. Maruthas was pre-eminently an historian. About the year 410 he collected the Acts of the Persian martyrs put to death during the persecution of Sapor II (309-379), [221] among whom at least two, Simeon Bar Sabbaé, patriarch of Seleucia, and Miles, bishop of Susa, left writings. Maruthas also wrote a history of the Nicene Council and some homilies.[4]

Balaeus (Balai) lived also in the fifth century and was, so it seems, *chor-episcopus* or rural bishop of Aleppo or Bersea at the time of the death of Acacius (432). Certain manuscripts attribute to him a long poem on Joseph, son of Jacob, in heptameter verse, which other manuscripts attribute to St. Ephraem. A few of his hymns, also in heptameters, are still extant; they abound in theological passages.[5]

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1 See Rubens Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*, p. 337.

2 Edited by G. Bickell, in *Zeitschrift der deutsch. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXVII (1873), 566-598.

3 Assemani, *Biblioth. Orientalis*, I, 170-174; III, I, p. 191.

4 Édit. P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, II, Paris, 1891. O. Braun, *De S. Nicaena Synodo*, Münster, 1898. Cf. A. Harnack, *Der Ketserkatalog des Bischof Maruta*, Leipzig, 1899 (*T. U.*, xix, 1).

5 I. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae ... Balaei aliorumque Opera Selecta*, Oxford, 1865, p. 251-336. G. Bickell, *Conspectus rei syror. litterariae*, 46, nº 5. K. V. Zettersteen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der religiösen Dichtung Balai's*, Leipzig, 1902.

The name of RABBULAS (Rabboula)[1] is intimately connected with the history of the Nestorian controversy and has remained one of the best known in Syriac literature. Rabbulas was born of heathen parents at Kennesrin, and came to hold a high office in the state. Later he was converted, became a monk, and, in 412, succeeded Diogenes in the episcopal see of Edessa. He put forth all his zeal for the reform of the clergy and of religious communities of men and women. In 431 we find him mentioned among the bishops who protested against the true council of Ephesus. Perhaps this happened without his consent: at any rate Rabbulas was not long in openly declaring for St. Cyril, working to bring about the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and striving, until the end of his life (435), toward off from Edessa the Nestorian tendencies which his successor, Ibas, later on favored.

Rabbulas employed both Greek and Syriac in his writings, His letters, for instance, were first written in Greek. One of his panegyrists mentions a collection of 46, one of which, together with some fragments, is still extant. A homily preached at Constantinople was also written in Greek. On the other hand, his canons and ordinances for the conduct [222] of the clergy and monks were in Syriac. Several of his hymns seem to be Syriac translations from primary Greek drafts.

Commentaries on Daniel, Kings and Ecclesiastes are still extant in the manuscripts under the name of DADJESU, patriarch of Seleucia (421-456). A collection of the eleventh century contains canons of a council held by him, in 430.[2]

The most famous author of Rabbulas' period is ISAAC OF ANTIOCH, surnamed the Great. Born at Amida, c. 365, and educated at Edessa under Zenobius, he journeyed to Rome, and on his return retired to a convent near Antioch, where he died, between 459 and 461. Isaac was an exceptionally prolific writer (200 numbers in all); but Bedjan thinks that the homilies under his name were not all written by him and that part of them should be attributed to ISAAC OF AMIDA, who was a Catholic writer, whereas ISAAC OF ANTIOCH was certainly a monophysite. However this may be, these homilies, written for the most part in heptameter verse, are diffuse and poetical only in form. Among them are to be found ascetical discourses on the Christian and monastic virtues with a few dogmatic discourses; of great value, however, are those dealing with the Persian wars and the invasions of the Arabs.[3]

We may mention, lastly, another monk of Amida, named DADA, a contemporary of Isaac, who wrote, it would seem, 300 treatises and hymns, nothing of which remains.

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[1] Works in I. OVERBECK, *Op. cit*., 210-248; 362-378; cf. 159-209. See M. J. LAGRANGE, *Un Evêque Syrien du V* Siècle, Rabulas, Evêque d'Edesse* dans *Mélanges d'Histoire Religieuse*, Paris, 1915.

[2] ASSEMANI, *Bibl. Or*., III, I, p. 214.

[3] G. BICKELL, *S. Isaaci Antiocheni Opera Omnia*, Giessen, 1873, 1877. P. BEDJAN, *Homiliae S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni*, I, Paris, 1903. P. ZINGERLE, *Monumenta Syriaca*, Œniponte, 1869, 13-20; *Chrestomatia Syriaca*, Romae, 1871, 299-306; 387-416.

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SECTION VI

WESTERN WRITERS

While the Trinitarian and Christological conflicts were being fought out in the Eastern Church, the West, although not altogether unaffected by them, concentrated its attention upon questions of a more practical nature, raised by the Priscillianist, Donatist, and Pelagian heresies. Although the writers it produced — at least one of whom, St. Augustine, surpassed in power of mind the best of the Greek writers — did not belong to schools, properly so called, they formed groups that were perfectly distinct in their tendencies. Hilary, Rufinus, Cassian, and Jerome received much of their inspiration from the Greeks; St. Augustine, St. Leo, St. Ambrose (though the latter is not always original) are exclusive representatives of the Latin genius, whilst the theologians of Lerins form a group by themselves. These writers contributed to all the forms of religious literature, and even in poetry they can point to Prudentius as an accomplished master. Even apologetics, which naturally declines, or at least changes its purpose with the victorious spread of Christianity, is still worthily represented and, after the curious writings of FIRMICUS MATERNUS (346-350), entitled *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, produces St. Augustine's great work, *De Civitate Dei*.

In this section we intend to give a conspectus of the representative writers of the Latin Church at the period we are now entering. We will prefix a few brief indications on the heterodox authors of the same period.

1. HETRODOX WRITERS

The principal heretical otubreaks which occurred in the West in the fourth and fifth centuries came from Arianism, Novatianism, Donatism, Manichaeism, Priscillianism, Pelagianism, and a few isolated errors.

1. With the exception of four or five bishops, Arianism in the West and in the Roman world during the fourth and [224] fifth centuries did not have any very devoted partisans.[1] The names of POTAMIUS of Lisbon (355-357), GERMINIUS of Sirmium (366), AUXENTIUS of Dorostorium and MAXIMINUS, a Gothic bishop, who later crossed swords with St. Augustine, are connected only with a few letters, dissertations, and sermons of more or less pronounced Arian bias. A certain CANDIDUS is the author of a treatise entitled *De Generatione Divina*,[2] refuted by Marius Victorinus. Other Arian works are anonymous.

The *chor-episcopus* ULFILAS (d. c. 383), however, is well known to students of English literature. He was the first to translate the Bible into Gothic, and spread the heresy among the Goths in Lower Mesia. It is known, too, that he wrote sermons and commentaries, now lost. There is extant a confession of faith of his, which is not very explicit about the Son, but decidedly against the divinity of the Holy Ghost.[3]

2. Of Novatian literature we know chiefly 4 writings sent by SYMTRONIANUS to Pacian of Barcelona, who refuted them.

3. Novatian rigor is met with again partly in Donatism, which so long and so deeply disturbed the peace of the African Church, and which, by its teaching on the Sacraments, may be connected with the rebaptizing partisans of St. Cyprian. Donatism occasioned an enormous output of literature,[4] and the Donatists who may be called writers are very numerous. Among them we must name the following: (a) DONATUS THE GREAT, who succeeded Majorinus in the see of Carthage (313-c. 355) and wrote many works,[5] among them a Letter on Baptism (c. 336), refuted by St. Augustine, and a book On the Holy Ghost (c. 345), tainted with Subordinationism. (b) VITELLIUS (337-350), author of apologetical, polemical, disciplinary and dogmatical

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[1] Concerning the Arian literature of this period, see BARDENHEWER, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Liter.*, III, 593 ff.

[2] *P. L.*, viii.

[3] Hahn, *Biblioth.*, § 198.

[4] See the list published by P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire Littér. de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, iv, 487-510.

[5] "Multa ad suam haeresim pertinentia opuscula." — St. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.*, 93.

works, all lost.[1] (c) MACROBIUS[2] author of a book to virgins and confessors, which certain critics identify with the *De Singularitate Clericorum* [225] among the *spuria* of St. Cyprian. Manuscripts attribute to him also the *Passion of SS. Maximinus and Isaac*, written perhaps in 366. (d) PARMENIANUS, successor to Donatus in the see of Carthage (355-c. 391), wrote c. 362 five *Treatises against the Church of the Traditores*, refuted by St. Optatus, and a *Letter to Tychonius* (c. 378), refuted by St. Augustine, (e) TYCHONIUS, whom St. Augustine qualifies as "*acri ingenio praeditum et uberi eloquio*," a man of independent character, broke with the Donatists over the question of the Church, and was excommunicated by them; however, he never returned to the Catholic fold. Besides 2 works on the Donatist schism (lost), he wrote (c. 382) a *Liber Rcgularum*, or *De Septem Regulis*, an exposition of the general principles of hermeneutics, still extant, and greatly appreciated by St. Augustine and Cassiodorius. There are also citations of a commentary of his on the Apocalypse, which was a definitive break with the literal interpretation of the work of St. John, (f) PETILIANUS, author of several letters refuted by St. Augustine and of a book *On the Unity of Baptism* (c. 409). (g) CRESCONIUS wrote a *Letter* to St. Augustine (401). (h) EMERITUS, a preacher (412-418). (i) FULGENTIUS, author of a treatise *On Baptism* (412-420). Finally, (j) GAUDENTIUS (c. 420), who was opposed by St. Augustine.

4. The Bishop of Hippo had not only to contend with Donatism: he had to deal also with the Manichaeans, whose errors he had once shared. We have very little information concerning the literature of this sect at this time. Adimantus book on the contradiction between the Old and the New Testaments is perhaps previous to this period, but the following certainly belong here: that of FAUSTUS, who taught at Carthage in 383 and 386, and who was refuted at length by St. Augustine; those of FELIX, with whom St. Augustine held a disputation in December, 404; the letter of SECUNDINUS to the Bishop of Hippo, which gave rise to the *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, in 405, and which we still possess;[3] and other writings, about which we have only general and vague indications.

5. Priscillianism may be connected with Manichaeism, for according to ancient writers it drew from the latter several of its doctrines. This heresy severely afflicted the Church of Spain and Aquitania at the end of the fourth century. PRISCILLIAN,[4] [226] bishop of Abila in Lusitania (c. 380), gave his name to the sect and left us 90 *Canons on the Epistles of St. Paul*, forming a kind of summary of Pauline theology, transmitted to us by a certain Peregrinus. Orosius, in his *Commonitorium*, cites from him a fragment of a letter which is strongly tainted with Manichaeism. It was believed also that the 11 treatises edited by Schepss in 1889 were from Priscillian's pen, until Dom Morin (1913) showed they were the work of INSTANTIUS, another Priscillianist. These treatises comprise an apology of the sect, a petition to Pope Damasus (381-382), a memoir on the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments, seven homilies, and a liturgical prayer. After Priscillian and Instantius we must name DICTINIUS, bishop of Astorga, who wrote a book entitled *Libra* (*The Scale*) and other widely read works, and the poet LATRONIANUS.[5] Dom Morin has edited[6] an anonymous treatise *De Trinitate Fidei Catholicae*, which seems to have come from the same sect, as we are tempted to believe is the case also with the *Monarchian Prologues on the Gospels* and a *Regula Censoria Monachorum*, appended to the works of St. Benedict.

6. Much more important and, in a sense, more formidable than Priscillianism, was the Pelagian heresy, against which St. Augustine had to muster all the resources of his genius. The father of this heresy was the British monk PELAGIUS, of whose writings there remains a *Letter to Demetriades*, written c. 412 or 413, and a *Libellus Fidei*, addressed to Pope Innocent, in 417. He composed also treatises *On Freewill* and *On*

[1] Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.*, 4.

[2] Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.*, 5.

[3] *P. G.*, XLII, 571-578.

[4] Works in G. SCHEPSS, *Priscilliani quae supersunt*, Wien, 1889 (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.*, xviii). For what follows see K. KÜNSTLE, Antipriscilliana, Freiburg i. B., 1905. E. CH. BABUT, *Priscillien et le Priscillianisme*, Paris, 1909.

[5] St. Jerome, *Vir. Ill.*, 122.

[6] *Études, Textes, Découvertes*, I, Paris, 1913, p. 151-205.

Nature, known to us through citations. It is through citations also that we know of the works of the monk CELESTIUS, his disciple. As to JULIAN, bishop of Eclanum, an other of his disciples, we possess, thanks to St. Augustine, a good part of the text of the objections he formulated against the doctrine of grace in his *Libri IV* and *Libri VIII adversus Augustinum;* furthermore, 4 commentaries on Osee, Joel, Amos, and Job have been recently assigned to him as their true author. Finally, FASTIDIUS, a British Pelagian bishop (beginning of fifth century), has left a treatise *On Christian Life*, [227] another *On Riches*, and 5 letters, still extant. The Pelagian heresy was, as we know, mainly a denial of original sin and of the necessity of grace for the performance of supernatural and meritorious acts.

There remain the three heretics HELVIDIUS, JOVINIAN,[1] and VIGILANTIUS,[2] so vigorously refuted by St. Jerome. All three propagated their errors in works we no longer possess, or of which there remain only a few fragments preserved by St. Jerome. The first of these heretics denied the perpetual virginity of Mary and the superiority of celibacy to the married state. St. Jerome combated these errors c. 383. The second was a monk, who also denied the superiority of the celibate to the married state; his preaching might be reduced to the doctrine of salvation by faith alone and the uselessness of good works. He was condemned by a Roman synod, in 390, and died before 406. The third was a native of Aquitania and a priest. He criticized the monastic life and the homage paid to the saints. St. Jerome refuted him in 404 and 406.

2. ST. HILARY[3]

The chief defender of Nicene orthodoxy in the West is St. Hilary. He was probably born at Poitiers, c. 315, of a rich heathen family. After his marriage, shortly before 350, he was converted by the study of the Old and New Testaments, and it was not long before the clergy and people of Poitiers unanimously chose him for their bishop. He became very conspicuous in the year 355, when Constantius endeavored to get the bishops of Gaul to subscribe to Arian formulas. A few had already signed at the Council of Milan in 355. Saturninus, bishop of Aries, the Emperor's tool, boasted that he would win over the others at a synod convoked at Biterrae (Béziers), in 356. Hilary resisted and encouraged others to resist, and consequently was exiled to Phrygia. [228] Ultimately, this exile proved advantageous to him. In his enforced leisure he learned Greek, familiarized himself with the whole Arian controversy, with which, until then, he had been only superficially acquainted, composed the *De Trinitate* and the *De Synodis*, and invited his opponents to a discussion before the Emperor. The Arians then caused him to be sent back to Gaul "as a disturber of the peace of the East." He immediately set himself to bring back the strayed sheep and to reconcile those who, more from weakness than from conviction, had subscribed to the heterodox formulas. From 362 to the autumn of 364, he undertook the same work in Italy, in co-operation with Eusebius of Vercellae. He then returned to Poitiers, where he died January 13, 367 or 368.

St. Hilary is often called the "Athanasius of the West." He resembled Athanasius in firmness of character, nobility of view, the art of governing minds, and also by the prominent part he took in the doctrinal discussions of his time. Yet this part was less important and less decisive than that of the Bishop of Alexandria, first because the West was not so seriously troubled by the new heresy as the East had been, and, secondly, because Hilary devoted scarcely ten years of his life to fighting it.

However, if Hilary is inferior to Athanasius as a man of action, and wrote less, he surpasses him as a man of speculative thought and study. He penetrates questions more profoundly than Athanasius and his thought has something stronger and more original about it. He owed much to the Greeks in theology, and particularly in exegesis, yet St. Jerome strangely exaggerates in representing him as a mere plagiarist or translator of Origen. Hilary was capable of independent thought and, when necessary, diverged from

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[1] See W. HALLER, *Jovinianus, Die Fragmente seiner Schriften*, etc. (T. U., xvii), Leipzig, 1897.

[2] See A. REVILLE, *Vigilance de Calagurris*, Paris, 1902.

[3] Works in *P. L.*, ix, x; J. F. GAMURRINI, *S. Hilarii Tractatus de Mysteriis et Hymni*, Romae, 1887; L. FEDER, in *Corpus Script. Eccl. Latin.*, LXV, Wien, 1916. See DORMAGEN, *Saint Hilaire de Poitiers et l'Arianisme*, Paris, 1864. P. LARGENT, *Saint Hilaire*, Paris, 1902 (*Les Saints*). J. A. QUILLACQ, *Quomodo latino linqua usus sit S. Hilarius Pictaviensis Episcopus*, Tours, 1903. L. FEDER, *Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers*, i, ii, iii, Wien, 1910-1912.

Origen's opinions. Many have criticized his style; St. Jerome thinks it noble and dignified, but too learned, and unsuited to the less cultured.[1] There is a certain amount of truth in all this, for it is generally believed that the Bishop of Poitiers had taken Quintilian for his model.[2] In any case, he took great care with his style, thinking this his duty because of the loftiness of the mysteries he was treating. His language is involved, sometimes even obscure and awkward; yet it must be said in his defence that St. Hilary was almost the first Gallic author to write in Latin on theological [229] questions and hence, somewhat like Tertullian, he was obliged to create a new language. The one he used is, on the whole, remarkably powerful and expressive.

The literary work of St. Hilary comprises commentaries on the Bible, dogmatic treatises, historico-polemical writings, letters, and hymns.

1. EXEGETICAL WRITINGS. — We have from St. Hilary's pen a *Commentary on St. Matthew*, almost complete, written between 353 and 355. The author's chief purpose is to edify, although he does not altogether neglect the historical side. A *Commentary on the Psalms*,[3] written c. 365, which once included all the Psalms, now comprises only Psalms i, ii, ix, xiii, xiv, li-lxix, xci, cxviii-cl. The text commented upon is that of the Septuagint; many of the ideas are derived from Origen. Very little remains of the *Tractatus* or Homilies on Job; however, the *Liber Mysteriorum*, in 2 sections, cited by St. Jerome,[4] a good part of which was found by Gamurrini, may also be said to be among Hilary's exegetical writings. This work is not, as one might be tempted to believe, a liturgical treatise, but an explanation of the prophetical types of the Old Testament in reference to the New. It was writen after 360.

2. DOGMATICAL WRITINGS. — The principal dogmatic work of St. Hilary is the treatise *De Trinitate*, in 12 books, composed between 356 and 359. Its purpose is, not to expound the complete Trinitarian doctrine, but to establish scientifically the divinity of the Son. For this reason it is one of the most solid works produced by Nicene theology. In the manuscripts there is generally appended, as Book XIII, the *De Synodis seu de Fide Orientalium*, which comprises two distinct parts. The first (10-63), predominantly historical, is a kind of memoir addressed to the bishops of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, to inform them of the changes wrought in the East since the Council of Nicea by the Arian controversy. The second (66-91) is an appeal to the Semi-Arians belonging to the group of Basil of Ancyra, urging them to accept the *homoousios* and to unite with the Niceans against the Anomeans and the partisans of Acacius. The conciliatory attitude taken by Hilary was later criticized by certain orthodox writers, to whom he replied in his little [230] treatise *Apologetica ad Reprehensores Libri de Synodis Responsa*.[5]

3. HISTORICO-POLEMICAL WRITINGS. — St. Hilary has left us some *Fragmenta ex Opere Historico*, which are of great historical importance. Their origin is difficult to determine. According to the most recent researches, these fragments are remnants of a larger work (*Opus Historicum*), made up of three lesser writings, *viz*., the *Ad Constantium Augustum Liber I*,[6] a summary of a more extensive work composed after the Synod of Biterrae; a work on the history of the councils of Rimini and Seleucia, composed 359-360; and a work to which belonged the *Epistula Germinii ad Rufianum* (fragment 15), written after 366.

In the Second Book to Constantius (*Ad Constantium Augustum Liber II*,[7] written in January, 360), Hilary begs the Emperor to confront him with Saturninus of Aries. This request having been refused, Hilary, who could now no longer doubt the bad faith of the Emperor, in the spring of 360 wrote the *Liber contra Constantium Imperatorem*, which was published after the Emperor's death (Nov. 3, 361).

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[1] *Epist*., lviii, 10.

[2] St. Jerome, *Ep*., lxx, 5.

[3] P. L., ix, 231-908; better edit, by ZINGERLE, *Corpus Script. Eccles. Latin*., XXII, 1891.

[4] *Vir. Ill*., 100.

[5] *P. L*., x, 545-548.

[6] *P. L*., x, 557-564.

[7] *P. L*., x, 563-572.

During his sojourn in Italy the Bishop of Poitiers wrote the treatise *Contra Arianos or Contra Auxentium Mediolanensem*, which narrates the mission of Hilary in the Italian peninsula and urges the bishops to withdraw from communion with Auxentius. A small treatise *Contra Dioscorum*, mentioned by St. Jerome,[1] has not come down to us.

4. LETTERS AND HYMNS. — St. Hilary wrote many letters. All have now disappeared, even that to his daughter Abra, of which Migne's *Latin Patrology*[2] gives a text which is undoubtedly a later fabrication. The Bishop of Poitiers was also the author of a *Liber Hymnorum*; yet among the hymns attributed to him, only 3 (discovered by Gamurrini) are really genuine. They are scientific in structure and ill suited to popular singing.

3. OTHER OPPONENTS OF ARIANISM

Side by side with Hilary there fought against Arianism other Latin authors, who, though lacking his fruitful genius, are yet deserving of mention. [231]

We name first HOSIUS, bishop of Cordova, who probably presided at the Council of Nicea and never failed to uphold Athanasius. He wrote but very little. Then comes EUSEBIUS OF VERCELLAE, who shared the fate of Hilary and was exiled to Palestine, then to Cappadocia, and finally to Upper Egypt, whence he returned in 361. His death occurred in 370 or 371. He, too, fought Arianism rather by spoken words and influence than in writing. St. Jerome attributes to him a translation, now lost, of a commentary of Eusebius of Caesarea on the Psalms.[3]

Entirely different was the course of C. MARIUS VICTORINUS.[4] He was born, c. 300, in Proconsular Africa, made a thorough study of grammar, of rhetoric, and particularly of philosophy, and, in 340, went to Rome, where he met with brilliant success. As a heathen he attacked the Christian doctrine; but when he studied it, in order to be the better able to refute it, he was won over and became a convert, c. 355. We lose track of him after the year 362. He has left profane writings on grammatical and rhetorical subjects, along with some dogmatic treatises, hymns, and commentaries, all directed against Arianism. These treatises are: *De Generatione Divini Verbi* (358), in answer to an Arian libellum; the 4 books *Adversus Arium* (359); and the small work *De Homoousio Recipiendo* (360). These works, written in an obscure and abstract style, are attempts at justifying the dogma by means of the Neo-Platonic philosophy which he professed. The 3 hymns, written in prose c. 360, and divided into lines of almost equal length, are aspirations addressed to the Trinity. His commentaries, written in a more popular language and literal in exegesis, explain the text of the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians, and were written after the year 360.

Bishop ZENO OF VERONA[5] (362-371 or 380), like Victorinus, was a native of Roman Africa. He has left us sermons, a collection of 93 of which, more or less complete, are still extant. Their contents vary widely; some are [232] directed against Arianism. They have literary value and reflect the refined and cultured mind of their author.

Bishop PHOEBADIUS OF AGEN was less cultured but more vigorous than Zeno. He attacked the second formula of Sirmium in a treatise *Against the Arians*,[6] written in 357 or 358, the gist of which is borrowed from Tertullian and St. Hilary. St. Jerome[7] mentions a few other small works of his, which have now disappeared.

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 100.

[2] x, 549-552.

[3] *Vir. Ill.*, 96.

[4] Works in *P. L.*, VIII. See also ST. AUGUSTINE, *Confessiones*, VIII. KOFFMANE, *De Mario Victorino Philosopho Christiano*, Breslau, 1880. P. MONCEAUX, *Hist. Littér. de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, III, Paris, 1905.

[5] Works in *P. L.*, XI. See A. BIGELMAIR, *Zeno von Verona*, Münster i. W., 1904. P. MONCEAUX, *Op. cit.*, III.

[6] *P. L.*, xx, 13-30.

[7] *Vir. Ill.*, 108.

These writers represent the regular orthodox reaction against Arianism; but there was another, violent and unmerciful, the one headed by Lucifer of Calaris.

LUCIFER OF CALARIS and his followers refused to reconcile the penitent Arians with the Church and tried to oust from their sees bishops guilty only of slight weakness. During his exile, 355-361, Lucifer[1] wrote several works which are pure invective: *De non Conveniendo cum Hæreticis, De Regibus Apostaticis, Pro Sancto Athanasio, De non Parcendo in Deum Delinquentibus* and *Moriendum pro Dei Filio*. In spite of the fiery language he employs, his writings are tiresome and monotonous, because they are kept always at the same high tension.

HILARY OF ROME, a Roman deacon, was a partisan of Lucifer and surpassed him in his extreme views. He demanded that all penitent Arians be rebaptized.[2]

FAUSTINUS and MARCELLINUS belonged to the same party. We have a *Libellus Precum* (383-384) written by them.[3] Faustinus also wrote a not very original treatise on the Trinity, *De Fide adversus Arianos* (c. 380),[4] and a *Fides Theodosio Imperatori Oblata*,[5] written between 379 and 381.

GREGORY OF ELIBERIS is the ablest writer of the Luciferian group. He died about 392.[6] His literary legacy was [233] neglected until recently brought to light by D. Wilmart. Gregory seems to be the author of the *De Fide*,[7] which others have claimed for Phoebadius. He is certainly the author of the 5 homilies on the Canticle of Canticles discovered by Heine, of the *Tractatus Origenis de Libris SS. Scripturarum* (20 homilies), edited by Msgr. Batiffol, and, finally, of a *Tractatus de Area Noe*. All these writings show Gregory to have been a writer and preacher full of originality and life.

4. THE OPPONENTS OF NOVATIANISM, DONATISM, AND PRISCILLIANISM

We have already stated that Novatianism, which began in the third century, continued to have followers in the middle of the fourth. A certain Sympronianus composed in its defence at least 4 treatises, which he sent to Pacian, bishop of Barcelona. PACIAN (c. 360-390)[8] answered in 3 letters *To Sympronianus*, written after 375, and still extant. He has left us, moreover, a *Sermo de Ba*ptismo and a treatise *Paraenesis sive Exhortatorius Libellus ad Paenitentiam*, in which he deals with the different kinds of sins and public penance, and Dom Morin attributes to him a *De Similitudine Carnis Peccati*, directed against the Manicheans.[9] A little work entitled *Cervulus* (*The Fawn*), composed in opposition to certain heathen masquerades held at New Year's, has perished. What we do possess justifies St. Jerome's praise that Pacian was "*castigatae eloquentiae et tam vita quam sermone clarus*."[10]

The chief opponent of Donatism in the IVth century was ST. OPTATUS, bishop of Milevis, in Numidia. He is hardly known except by his treatise *De Schismate Donatistarum* or *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam*,[11] which appeared in 366 in 6 books, to which a seventh was added c. 385. He refutes the work

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[1] *P. L.*, XIII; better edit, by W. HARTEL in the *Corpus Script. Eccles. Latin.*, xiv. Wien, 1886.

[2] St. Jerome, *Alterc. Lucif. et Orthod.*, 26, 27.

[3] *P. L.*, XIII, 83-107.

[4] *Ibid.*, 37-79.

[5] *Ibid.*, 79-80.

[6] See G. MORIN, *Les Nouveaux Tractatus Origenis et l'Héritage Littéraire de l'Evêque Espagnol Grégoire d'Illiberis* in *Revue d'Hist. et de Littér. Relig.*, V (1900), 145-161. ID., *L'Attribution du De Fide à Grégoire d'Elvire* in *Revue Bénédictine*, xix (1902), 229-235. A. WILMART, *Les Tractatus sur le Cantique Attribues à Grégoire d'Elvire* in *Bulletin de Littér. Ecclésiastique* (1906), 435-457. ID., *Area Noe*, in *Revue Bénédict.*, xxvi (1909), 1-12.

[7] *P. L.*, xx, 31-50.

[8] Works in *P. L.*, XIII. See A. GRUBER, *Studien zu Pacianus*, Wien, 1902.

[9] *Études, Textes, Découvertes*, I, Paris, 1913, p. 81-150.

[10] *Vir. Ill.*, 106; cf. 132.

[11] *P. L.*, XI or C. ZIWSA in the *Corp. Script. Eccles. Latin.*, XXVI, Wien, 1893.

of Parmenian against the Catholics and, [234] basing his arguments now on tradition, now on facts, refutes the Donatist theories on the Church and the Sacraments, Baptism in particular (ii, iv, v) and throws upon the schismatics the responsibility for the sufferings and vexations under which the Christian communities were groaning (i. iii, vi, vii). A collection of *acta* appended to the first edition of this work (366), justifying his *exposé* of the history of the Donatist schism and entitled *Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani et Felicis*, has been partly preserved; it is more ancient than the work of Optatus and must have been compiled between 330 and 347. Optatus had a positive and precise mind. His writing is sometimes obscure on account of an overabundance of figures: his style is rude and awkward, but his diction bold and original.

The secular power dealt rigorously with Priscillianism, and many refutations were directed against it by churchmen. Among the authors who stood out against the doctrinal and moral teachings of Priscillian we must mention IDACIUS of Emerita; ITHACIUS, bishop of Ossonuba, afterwards excommunicated for his share in the violent death of certain Priscillianists; the bishops AUDENTIUS and OLYMPIUS, mentioned by Gennadius;[1] then, in the first half of the fifth century, the monk BACHIARIUS, author of the treatise *De Fide* (c. 410);[2] the bishops PASTOR of Galicia and SYAGRIUS, the former author of a *Libellus in Modum Symboli*, now rediscovered,[3] the latter of a treatise *De Fide*, also refound;[4] finally, in the middle of the fifth century, TURRIBIUS, bishop of Astorga, who, in his writings to Pope St. Leo (c. 440-445), warned him of the constant dangers arising from heresy to the Catholics of Spain.[5]

All heresies found both a historian and an opponent in PHILASTRIUS, bishop of Brixia (Brescia), whose *Liber de Haeresibus*[6] is one of our chief sources. Of the 156 heresies he enumerates and describes, Philastrius knew the first 92 through treatises written before his, notably St. Hippolytus' *Syntagma*; the last 64 represent original research. [235] His book, written between 383 and 391, is monotonous, heavy, and mediocre in style. His memory was celebrated by GAUDENTIUS, his successor in the see of Brescia, whose last sermon, out of 19 we possess, is entitled *De Vita et Obitu B. Philastrii*.

5. St. Ambrose and the Bishops of the End of the Fourth Century

ST. AMBROSE[7] was born in 333, probably at Treves, where his father, also named Ambrose, was "*praefectus praetorio Galliarum*." He received a Christian education at Rome and, having completed the study of law and practiced with success, was appointed at an early age (c. 370) consular governor of Emilia and Liguria, with his residence at Milan. His administration was proving acceptable to all parties, when the death of Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Milan, gave a new turn to his life. Acclaimed bishop by the people, Ambrose had to consent to his ordination, which took place probably December 7, 374.

From this moment all his time was divided between the study of the sacred sciences, of which he had everything to learn, the government of his church, the care of his people, who incessantly consulted him on matters of all kinds, and the interests of the Empire and of princes whose counselor and helper he remained. St. Ambrose is the first of those political bishops who strove to unite Church and State by the closest bonds and whose solicitude embraced the prosperity of both. He was revered as a father by the young emperor Gratian and three times undertook journeys into Gaul for Valentinian II. He was also the friend of Theodosius, whose funeral oration he delivered, February 25, 395. At the same time he resisted the restoration of the Altar of Victory, holding possession of the Porcian basilica against the Empress Justina,

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1 *Vir. Ill.*, 14, 23.

2 *P. L.*, xx. See KÜNSTLE, *Antipriscilliana*, p. 163 ff.

3 V. KÜNSTLE, *Op. cit.*, p. 40 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 126-159. Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.*, 65.

5 Turribius' letter to Idacius and Ceponius does not seem to be authentic.

6 *P. L.*, XII, 1111-1302. F. ÖHLER, *Corpus Haereseologic.*, I, Berlin, 1856.

7 Works in *P. L.*, XIV-XVII. See A. BAUNARD, *Hist. de S. Ambroise*, Paris, 3rd edit., 1899; A. DE BROGUE, *S. Ambroise*, Paris, 1899 (*Les Saints*); P. DE LABRIOLLE, *S. Ambroise*, Paris, 1908 (*La pensée chrétienne*); R. THAMIN, *S. Ambroise et la Morale Chrétienne au IV^{e} Siècle*, Paris, 1895.

exhorted Theodosius to do public penance, busied himself with the conversion of Augustine, presided over councils, introduced the singing of hymns into the Church, and spread the influence of his see far beyond [236] its natural limits. This influence persevered even after his death, April 4, 397.

Ambrose owed the extrordinary popularity he enjoyed to his untiring devotion to his flock, the dignity of his character and the loftiness of his views, but also to his rare qualities as an administrator and his remarkable genius for governing. He brought to the exercise of his episcopal duties the same clear ideas, the same firmness, good sense, and discrimination which he had displayed as a civil magistrate. He affords us a striking example of the reaction the mind may exercise on the ideas upon which it is fed. Thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics, it was rather from the Greeks that he sought the substance of his theology when he had to improvise a theological training. Philo and Origen were his models in exegesis; Athanasius, Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, Didymus, Gregory of Nazianzus, in theology. Among the western writers he used only St. Hippolytus, the most Greek of them all. In spite of this, Ambrose remained a true Western and Latin writer, whose teaching is, above all, catechetic, positive, and practical. He hardly had time to write much. Most of his works are revised discourses worked over into treatises. In these hasty compositions one must naturally expect to meet with diffuseness and negligence. St. Ambrose has neither St. Augustine's original depth of thought nor St. Jerome's sharp-tongued animation; "he is a scholar of the second rank."[1] Yet there is in his style a well-tempered force, a sweetness and smooth harmony which charmed St. Augustine and which make the reading of his works very pleasant. A delicate tinge of mysticism, — the result of his intercourse with the Greeks and of his personal piety, — enhances what would otherwise sound cold and spiritless in the official language of one who had been a Roman magistrate.

The literary work of St. Ambrose comprises exegetical, moral and dogmatic treatises, discourses, letters, and hymns.

1. EXEGETICAL WORKS. — The models of St. Ambrose in exegesis were, as we have said, Philo and Origen, and this accounts for his allegorical interpretations and his readiness to discover in the historical personages and events of the Scripture types and figures of personages and events to come. He is led to this by his desire to serve souls and to draw from the letter of S. Scripture first of all the moral lesson it contains. [237] He does not, however, deny the reality of the historical sense.

The following works are written in this vein: *Hexaëmeron Libri Sex* (after 389), the gist of which is borrowed from a similar work of St. Basil; the treatises *De Paradiso* (375); *De Cain et Abel* (c. 375); *De Noe et Area* (378-386 according to various authors); *De Abraham Libri Duo* (387), — two series of homilies, the first addressed to catechumens, the second to baptized Christians; *De Isaac et Anima* (c. 388); *De Jacob et Vita Beata Libri Duo* (c. 388); *De Joseph Patriarcha* (c. 389); *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* (c. 389); *De Elia et Ieiunio*, a compilation of sermons delivered during the Lent of 387, 389 or 391; *De Nabuthe Iezraelita* (394); *De Tobia* (before 380); *De Interpellatione Iob et David Libri Quatuor*, 4 sermons on the problem of evil and the happiness of the wicked (c. 383); *Apologia Prophetae David ad Theodosium Augustum*, on the penance of David (383-389); *Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos*, a collection of occasional homilies on Psalms i, xxxv-xl, xliii, xlv, xlvii, xlviii, and lxi; *Expositio in Psalmum* CXVIII, divided into 22 sermons, corresponding to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet; and, finally, an *Expositio Isaiae Prophetae* (before 389), still extant in a few citations. On the New Testament we have but a single commentary of St. Ambrose, his longest work, the *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam Libris Decent Comprehensa*, a collection of homilies composed in 389, except for the third book, which is a recension of the *Gospel Questions* of Eusebius of Caesarea, dealing with the harmony of the Gospels and the agreement of the various texts, with a predominantly moral note.

2. MORAL AND ASCETICAL WORKS. — The most important of the moral treatises of St. Ambrose is the *De Officiis Ministrorum*, the first synthesis of Christian morality produced by the West. The work is in 3 books, modelled after Cicero's *De Officiis*: the first deals with the *honestum*, the second with the *utile*, and

[1] De Labriolle.

the third with the conflicts which may arise between the two. But St. Ambrose has thoroughly Christianized his model; he has elevated natural morality to a supernatural plane and substituted biblical examples for the heathen ones of the great Roman. Still the work has many defects. When he addresses clerics it is not always clear whether he is insisting merely on the general laws of Christian morality or on rules proper to the clergy. [238] The order and disposition of the treatise, uncertain enough in Cicero, is still more so in his imitator. Foreign elements, too, have been introduced and weaken the general structure. On the whole, the work is more valuable for its details than for its general argument. It was written in 391.

The two small works *De Bono Mortis* and *De Fuga Saeculi* are collections of former discourses, thought to have been written in 388 and 390, respectively.

We have four writings from St. Ambrose on virginity, a theme he loved and treated too often and too well for some persons: (1) three books *De Virginibus ad Marcellinam Sororem*, written in 377 at the request of his sister, who had, in 353, received the veil of virgins from Pope Liberius; (2) *De Virginitate* (c. 378), an answer to the reproaches addressed to him because he urged young girls to a life of celibacy; (3) *De Institutione Virginia et Sanctae Mariae Virginitate Perpetua ad Eusebium*, a discourse on the occasion of the veiling of Ambrosia (391-392); and (4) *Exhortatio Virginitatis*, a recast of a discourse pronounced in 393. The treatise *De Viduis* (377-378), recommending widowhood in preference to second marriage, also belongs to the treatises on virginity.

3. DOGMATIC WRITINGS. — As has been remarked, St. Ambrose was not a dogmatician, nor did he possess a speculative temperament. What he aims at in his dogmatic treatises, is either to instruct the faithful on what they have to believe, or else to combat certain errors that were threatening the faith. The following of these treatises are still extant: (1) The 5 books *De Fide ad Gratianum*, on the Trinity. The first 2 books deal with the divinity of the Son and were written before the month of August, 378; the third, fourth, and fifth, between 379 and 380. (2) *De Spiritu Sancto ad Gratianum*, a complement to the foregoing work, which appeared about Easter, 381. The substance is borrowed from a similar treatise of Didymus the Blind, although the author makes use also of the letters of St. Athanasius to Serapion and of a treatise of St. Basil. (3) *De Incarnationis Dominicae Sacramento*, a discourse against the Arians (381-382). (4) *De Mysteriis* (387), the most frequently cited of his works, probably made up of catecheses to catechumens, similar to those of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. In it Ambrose treats of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. (5) *De Pœnitentia* (384-390), in two books, [239] against the Novatians. The author claims for the Church the power to remit all sins and states the conditions necessary for pardon.

Besides these St. Ambrose also composed an *Exposition of the Faith*, mentioned by Theodoret, and a treatise *De Sacramento Regenerationis sive de Philosophia*, cited by St. Augustine. It is generally agreed that Ambrose is not the author of the *De Sacramentis* included in his works. The unknown author of this work, indeed, has followed and closely imitated the *De Mysteriis*, yet he writes a different style. It is a product of the fourth or fifth century.

4. DISCOURSES AND LETTERS. — Most of the writings of St. Ambrose, as we have said, are nothing more than discourses retouched and published in commentary or treatise form. There exist, however, in their original form, a few discourses, four of which are funeral orations the first we meet with in Western ecclesiastical literature. They are modelled on those of Gregory of Nazianzus and, like his, follow the classical rules for literature of this kind, but are more Christian in spirit. Ambrose preached two of these at the funeral of Satyrus, his brother, in 377 or 378 (*De Excessu Fratris sui Satyri Libri Duo*). The first is a long cry of anguish, full of literary beauties. In the month of July or August, 392, he pronounced the funeral discourse of Valentinian II, murdered May 15 at the age of twenty (*De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio*). Three years later, February 25, 395, the Bishop of Milan celebrated the memory of Theodosius the Great, who had died January 17 (*De Obitu Thcodosii Oratio*). We have also a *Sermo contra Auxentitim dc Basilicis tradendis*, pronounced in 386 in the Porcian basilica, and a few other discourses embodied in his letters (nos. 22 and 41).

5. HYMNS. — We saw above that St. Hilary wrote a few hymns on theological subjects, but that they were too learned and too long to be embodied in the divine liturgy. The real creator of the liturgical hymn in the West was St. Ambrose. His hymns are all composed in iambic, acatalectic dimeters, with four iambi (spondees in metres 1 and 3), in strophes of four verses each. This form was popular and easy to remember. The metre is based, not on the tonic accent, but on the classic or real quantity of the syllables. Each hymn includes 8 strophes, written in an extremely simple style. The success of these hymns was phenomenal, and since then [240] the name of *Ambrosian Hymns* has been given to all songs composed in this manner. However, there are extant today only about 12 hymns which can rightly pretend to be the work of the Bishop of Milan. St. Ambrose also wrote some metrical inscriptions, a few of which are still extant.

Among the works of St. Ambrose there is a commentary on the 13 epistles of St. Paul the Epistle to the Hebrews excepted. They are clear, penetrating, and original, and reflect the author's refined historical insight. The author, who must have writen c. 370, is not St. Ambrose; yet, because the book was for a long time regarded as the work of the Bishop of Milan, the author has been called AMBROSIASTER. This name does not throw any light on the writer's personality. St. Augustine attributed the work to St. Hilary of Poitiers. Since 1899 it has generally been attributed to a certain ISAAC, a converted or relapsed Jew, the author of *Fides Isaatis ex Iudaeo*[1] on the Trinity and the Incarnation. More recently, Dom Morin has advocated the claim of DECIMIUS HILARIANUS HILARIUS, a former proconsul in Africa, who, in 408, became prefect of Rome. One thing alone is certain, namely that the author of the commentary on the epistles of St. Paul is the same as that of the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*.[2]

Among the correspondents of St. Ambrose we may mention SIMPLICIANUS, who succeeded him in 397; VIGILIUS OF TRENT, who died a martyr in 405; and particularly CHROMATIUS of Aquileia (388-407), 18 of whose treatises have reached us, remarkable for correctness and charm of style.[3]

NICETA OF REMESIANA[4] was not a correspondent of St. Ambrose, yet he was a contemporary and friend of St. Paulinus of Nola, through whom chiefly we know him.[5] He [241] must have been born c. 335-338, and became, at an unknown date, bishop of Remesiana (the present Bêla Palanka) in Mediterranean Dacia. His life was that of a missionary and an apostle whole-heartedly devoted to his people and spending himself unsparingly for them. Although he dwelt in the border land of Greek and Latin civilization, where both languages must have been spoken, Nicetas was an out and out Latin and wrote in Latin only. His style lacks elegance, but it is clear, simple and well suited to his thoughts.

The principal work of Nicetas comprises 6 books of instructions to catechumens, each of which, perhaps, was originally independent. Only a few fragments of the first 2, books remain; the third exists entire in two parts, *De Ratione Fidei* and *De Spiritus Sancti Potentia*; the fourth and sixth books are lost; but we have the fifth, *De Symbolo*, one of the most ancient explanations of the baptismal creed. The third and fifth books were probably written shortly after 380.

To this important work of Nicetas we must add 2 sermons, *De Vigiliis* and *De Psalmodiae Bono;* a treatise entitled *Ad lapsam Virginem*, usually identified with the *De Lapsu Virginis Consecratae* found among the works of St. Ambrose; and finally a small treatise *De Diversis Appellationibus*, on the various names given

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[1] *P. G.*, xxxiii, 1541-1546.

[2] Text in P. L., xvii, 45-508. See G. MORIN, *L'Ambrosiaster et le Juif Convcrti Isaac*, in *Revue d'Hist. et de Littér. Religieuses*, IV (1899), 97-121. ID., *Hilarius l'Ambrosiaster*, in *Revue Bénédict.*, xx (1903), 113-131. F. CUMONT, *La Polémique de l'Ambrosiaster contre les Païens*, in *Revue d'Hist. et de Littér. Relig.*, VIII (1903), 417-440; A. SOUTER, *A Study of Ambrosiaster* (*Texts and Studies*, VII, 4).

[3] *P. L.*, xx, 323-368.

[4] Edit. E. BURN, *Niceta of Remesiana, his Life and his Works*, Cambridge, 1905. See W. A. PATIN, *Niceta, Bischof von Remesiana* Munich, 1909.

[5] See his poems XVII and XXVII.

to Jesus Christ. Nicetas also composed some hymns, all of which have perished except the *Te Deum*, which many critics attribute to him on the authority of manuscripts.

6. Historians and Chronographers — Rufinus — Sulpicius Severus

Three Western historians belong to the period we are now studying — Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, and Paulus Orosius, to whom may be added a few chronographers and hagiographers of less importance.

Tyrannius Rufinus[1] was born in 345 at Concordia, near Aquileia, of Christian parents. He studied at Rome, where he was intimate with St. Jerome; later he became a monk at Aquileia. In 371, in company with Melania the Elder, he visited Egypt, where he spent six years, and then [242] Jerusalem, near which he finally settled. There he built, on the Mount of Olives, not far from the monastery of Melania, cells for the monks who came to join him, and with them he gave himself to the exercises of the ascetic life and to literary labors. About 390, John of Jerusalem, it seems, ordained him to the priesthood.

At the same time, St. Jerome was building, with Paula, the monasteries of Bethlehem. The relations between the two groups of ascetics were most cordial, until the Origenist question arose and set the communities at variance. However, a reconciliation took place between St. Jerome and Rufinus in 397, but the latter, on his return to Italy, was tactless or malicious enough in his translations of Origen to recall St. Jerome's admiration for the now suspected teacher of Alexandria. This time the break was complete and the two former friends exchanged the most bitter writings. Rufinus finally failed to answer (401 or 402). In 407 he was forced to flee from Aquileia on account of the invasion of the Visigoths, and in 409 he passed into Sicily, where he died at Messina, in 410.

We must not judge Rufinus by the caricature drawn of him by St. Jerome. St. Augustine says he was universally esteemed. He was an exemplary monk and distributed his patrimony among the poor. Intellectually, he is far below St. Jerome. Not having many personal ideas, he took up the work of a translator. But even here he has many defects: the chief one is that he translates too freely, modifies his texts, and corrects, shortens or paraphrases them to his liking, so that we are never certain of getting the exact thought and expression of the original author. Hence his work does not render the services it should, considering the many lost texts it represents.

Rufinus translated Origen's 4 books *De Principiis* in 398; part of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans in 404; part of his commentary on the Canticle of Canticles in 410; and about 120 of his homilies on various parts of the Scriptures; the *De Recta in Deum Fide* of pseudo-Origen (Adamanlius) (between 400 and 409); the first book of the *Apology for Origen* of Pamphilus of Caesarea (398), to which he added the epilogue *On the Alteration of Origen's Books;* part of the sentences of Sextus and Evagrius Ponticus; the *Letter* of Clement to James and the *Recognitions* of the Clementine romances (the latter c. 405); the whole [243] *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius (403); the two monastic rules of St. Basil (397) and his eight discourses (399-400); and several other collections of sentences of Evagrius Ponticus (400-401). His *Historia Monachorum Ægypti vel Vitae Patrum*, which for a long time was held to be an original work of Rufinus, is only an adaptation or recast of an earlier Greek work, the text of which has now been found.

The personal writings of Rufinus comprise: (1) The two books of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* which he added to his translation of Eusebius, recording the events from 324 to the death of Theodosius, 395. Although undertaken without preliminary training and research, this work has the merit of being the first of its kind to appear in the West. (2) *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* (c. 404), rightly esteemed as giving the first certain and complete Latin text of the baptismal creed. To these we may add two personal apologies, — one to Pope Anastasius, *Apologia ad Anastasium Romanae Urbis Episcopum* (c. 400), in which the author makes his profession of faith and justifies his translation of Origen's works; the other against St. Jerome, *Apologia in Hieronymum*, in two books, the first an apology for himself and the second

[1] Personal works in *P. L.*, XXI. The translations are usually to be found in the works of translated authors. See J. Brocket, *Saint Jérôme et ses Ennemis*, Paris, 1905.

a severe attack on his opponent. (3) A small treatise in two books, *De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum* (406-407), an allegorical explanation of the blessing of Jacob on his children. Gennadius[1] tells us that Rufinus also wrote a goodly number of letters of edification, none of which are extant.

Almost at the same time that Rufinus was translating and continuing Eusebius, SULPICIUS SEVERUS[2] was composing his *Chronicle*. He was born c. 363, in Aquitania, and became a lawyer. After the death of his young wife, on the advice of St. Martin of Tours, he became a monk and withdrew to Primuliacum, near Vendres. Here he wrote and died (between 420 and 425).

His *Chronicorum Libri Duo*, wrongly entitled *Historia Sacra*, is a summary of Jewish and Christian history from [244] the creation up to the consulate of Stilico, in 400. The substance of this work is, of course, not very personal, except for the history of Priscillianism towards the end; but the composition is carefully ordered and the style polished and pleasing. Evidently the author wished to attract readers, and yet his readers were few. To the elegant narratives of the *Chronicle* the public preferred the marvelous in his works on St. Martin, *Vita S. Martini*, published in 397; the three letters *Ad Eusebium*, *Ad Aurelium Diaconum*, and *Ad Bassulam*; and finally the two *Dialogi* (c. 404), in which he compares St. Martin's virtues and miracles with those of the monks of Egypt. Inferior to the Chronicle in style, though more popular in character, these writings obtained a success which lasted throughout the Middle Ages.

PAULUS OROSIUS[3] is the third historian belonging to this period whom we must mention. He was born probably at Braccara (Braga in Portugal), and about 413 or 414 betook himself to St. Augustine at Hippo. From Hippo he passed into Palestine, where he fought side by side with St. Jerome against the Pelagians. He then returned to Africa, where, in 417-418, he composed or completed the work he had undertaken at the request of St. Augustine, *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri Septem*, extending from the creation of the world to the year 417 after Christ. Its purpose is purely apologetical. It aims to show that before Christ the world was more devastated by wars and calamities than since the advent of Christianity, and that therefore the latter is not responsible for the present evils. It was meant as an appendix to the *De Civitate Dei*. Except for the forty last years, which represent, personal research, Paulus Orosius compiled the substance of his book from Scripture and preceding ecclesiastical and profane historians. The work was, however, highly appreciated by medieval writers. Besides this work, there is extant a memoir, *Commonitorium de Errore Priscillianistannn et Origenistarum*, dedicated to St. Augustine, in 414, and a book against Pelagius, *Liber Apologeticus contra Pelagium de Arbitrii Libertate*, written in 415. [245]

PAULINUS OF MILAN (d. c. 420) was secretary to St. Ambrose and, at the request of St. Augustine, wrote a *Vita S. Ambrosii* in imitation of the *Vita S. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus.[4] His purpose, like that of the author of his model, was to edify. Paulinus also wrote a *Libellus* against the Pelagian Celestius, presented to Pope Zosimus, and a *Libellus de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*.[5]

Besides these strictly historical works we may mention three on chronography. In an immense compilation, in the form of calendars for the use of the people of Rome, composed in 354 and comprising 11 parts, 4 deal especially with the Christian life and the liturgy of the Church; they are: (1) An Easter table for the year 312-411; (2) A *Depositio Episcoporum* and a *Depositio Martyrum*, which mark respectively the day of the death and the burial place of the popes from Lucius I (d. 254) to Julius I (d. 352) and those

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 17.

[2] Works in *P. L.*, xx; better edit, by C. HALM, in the *Corpus Script. Eccl. Latin.*, I, Wien, 1866; A. LAVERTUJON, *La Chronique de Sulpice Sévère*, text, transl. and commentary, Paris, 1896-1899. See F. MOURET, Sulpice Severe a Primuliae, Paris, 1907. E. CH. BABUT, *Paulin de Nole, Sulpice Sévère*, Saint Martin in the *Annales du Midi*, xx (1908), 18-44.

[3] Works in *P. L.*, XXXI; C. ZANGEMEISTER in the *Corpus Script. Eccl. Latin.*, v, Wien, 1882. The *Commonitorium* in SCHEPSS, *ibid.*, XVIII, Wien, 1889. See TH. MOERNER, *De Orosii Vita ejusque Historiarum Libris*, Breslau, 1844. E. MÉJEAN, *Paul Orose et son Apologétique contre les Païens*, Strasbourg, 1862.

[4] *P. L.*, XIV, 27-46.

[5] *P. L.*, XX, 711-716 and 715-732.

of the martyrs honored at Rome — our most ancient martyrology; (3) A list of the popes from St. Peter to Pope Liberius (352-369), called the *Liberian Catalogue*; (4) A chronicle of the world, *Chronica Horosii*, reaching to 334, which is a recension of the Chronicle of Hippolytus,[1] numbers 2 and 3 are of special value.

To a certain QUINTUS JULIUS HILARIANUS, an African author, who wrote in 397, we owe two other works of chronography of small importance, *De Ratione Paschae et Mensis* and *De Cursu Temporum*.

While some writers sought to preserve the memory of past ages, a few began to record their own experiences. A pilgrim from Bordeaux arrived at Constantinople towards the end of May, 333, visited the Holy Land, and returned to Milan by way of Rome. He has left us under the title of *Itinerarium Burdigalense*[2] an account of his journey, dry and concise, but of minute precision.

There is also an account of a pilgrimage to Palestine, [246] Egypt, and Edessa made at the end of the fourth century and lasting three years, by AETHERIA or EGERIA, a Spanish or Gallic lady. It is more detailed and lively than the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, although unfortunately the manuscript is mutilated both at the beginning and near the end. This traveller has curiously observed and carefully noted down everything, and what she describes, especially with reference to the liturgical services at Jerusalem, is of the highest interest.[3]

7. POETS — PRUDENTIUS — ST. PAULINUS OF NOLA

Before the fourth century the Church did not produce any writer of verse whose style and versification was of real merit. But in the fourth century, when liturgical poetry sprang up, extra-liturgical poetry began also to develop under the pens of a few authors, one of whom at least, Prudentius, is a true poet.

Prudentius had a predecessor in the person of the priest GAIUS VETTIUS AQUILINUS IUVENCUS,[4] who was Spaniard like himself. He is known to us only through St. Jerome,[5] who says he was of a noble family. He has left us a poem entitled *Evangeliorum Libri Quatuor*, composed c. 330, in which the Gospel narrative is accurately rendered in verse. Outside of a few descriptions of localities and some circumlocutions required by the metre, the author has scrupulously followed the sacred text. His verse is clear, easy, and usually correct and his style is patterned after the classics. On the whole, it is a very creditable work. St. Jerome attributes to Juvencus other liturgical compositions, which have all disappeared.

AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS[6] was born in 348, probably at Saragossa, of an illustrious and, it would seem, Christian family. His education was careful and complete. He [247] had a good knowledge of the classics, at least of the poets; but, although he gave Greek titles to his works, it is doubtful whether he was familiar with that language. Becoming a lawyer, he was not long in rising to prominent positions (governor of a province or *defensor civitatis*). Through the favor of Theodosius he was given an important military post and even ranked among the highest imperial officers.

Prudentius, however, gradually came to despise these honors. When he was 45 or 50 years old, the approach of old age or some crisis brought him back entirely to Christianity and he began to devote his talent to combatting error and singing the praises of God and the saints. About the year 400 he made a

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[1] Édit. TH. MOMMSEN, *Monum. Germ. Histor., Auct. Antiquiss.*, IX, *Chronica Minora*, I, Berlin, 1892. The catalogue of the Popes and the two *Depositiones* are also in C. DE SMEDT, *Introd. generalis ad Histor. Eccles. critice tractandam*, Gandavi, 1876, p. 509-514. See L. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, I, Introduct., p. vi ff.

[2] *P. L.*, VIII, 783 ff.; better edit, by P. GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymit Saec. IV-VIII*, p. 1-33, in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Latin.*, xxxix, Wien, 1898.

[3] Edit. J. F. GAMURRINI, *Hilarii Tractatus ... et S. Silviae Aquit. Peregrinatio*, Romae 1887, et P. GEYER, *op. cit*. See M. FÉROTIN, *Le Véritable Auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviae*, in *Revue des Quest. Histor.*, LXXIV (1903), 367-397.

[4] *P. L.*, XIX, and J. HUEMER, in *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Latin.*, XXIV, Wien, 1891. See H. WIDMANN, *De Gaio Vettio Aquilino Juvenco*, Breslau, 1905.

[5] *Vir. Ill.*, 84.

[6] Works in *P. L.*, LIX, LX. See A. PUECH, *Prudence*, Paris, 1888; F. MAIGRET, *Le Poète Chrétien Prudence*, Paris, 1903; G. BOISSIER, *La Fin du Paganisme*, II, 123-177.

journey to Rome. In 404-405 he published a collection of his works. After this date we have no more information about him.

His literary productions comprise seven poems, which may be logically arranged in the following order:

1. *Contra Symmachum Libri Duo*. Symmachus, as we know, was the great defender of expiring heathenism at Rome towards the end of the fourth century. Two or three times — in 382, in 384, and perhaps in 403 or 404 — he demanded the restoration of the Altar of Victory, which had been removed from the Senate by Constantius. It is against these efforts that this poem of Prudentius was directed. In the first book (658 hexameters) he condemns paganism, and in particular the worship of the sun (Mithraism); in the second (1131 hexameters) he refutes, point for point, the petition presented by Symmachus to Valentinian II, in 384. The work was written at the end of 402 or in the beginning of 403.

2. *Psychomachia*, or *Struggle of the Soul*. This poem deals with the struggle which takes place in the human soul between Christian virtues and pagan vices. It describes the battle between Faith and Idolatry, Modesty and Impurity, Patience and Anger, Humility and Pride, Concord and Discord (or Heresy), until at length the virtues are victorious and a temple of thanksgiving is raised to Jesus Christ. The poem contains 915 hexameters and 68 introductory verses. From the esthetic point of view it is the poorest of Prudentius productions; yet it inaugurated the literature of moralities developed later by the Middle Ages, and was well liked and often copied.

3. *Apotheosis*. This is another polemical work, directed [248] against the heretics and Jews. After a profession of faith and an introduction, the author refutes the Patripassians (vv. 1-177) and Sabellians (vv. 178-320). Next, he turns against those Jews who deny the Trinity (vv. 321-550) and then proves the divinity of Jesus Christ against the Ebionites (vv. 952-1061). Verses 782-951 are a digression on the nature of the soul. Prudentius surmounted the metaphysical and abstract character of his subject by introducing historical incidents. The exact date of this composition is not known, though it is supposed by some that the appearance of Sabellian Priscillianism in Spain gave rise to it.

4. *Hamartigenia* (Ἁμαρτιγένεια), *Origin of Evil*, in 970 hexameters. This is a refutation of Marcionism, a heresy which attributed the origin of evil to the influence of some inferior deity. Prudentius shows that the author of evil is not God, but the demon, the fallen angel, who has led man into sin. God allowed this fall in order that man might learn to govern himself. As a literary work, the *Hamartigenia* is perhaps the best of Prudentius' writings.

5. *Liber Cathemerinon*. This is a collection of twelve hymns for the different hours of the day, for certain feasts and occasions. Three (i, ii, vi) are written in the Ambrosian metre; the others in a rhythm adapted to the subject. These hymns are very long (80-220 verses); the last alone (that for the feast of the Epiphany) has been utilized in the liturgy. Other hymns have been drawn from these, *e.g*., *Quicumque Christum quaeritis* (Transfiguration), *O sola magnarum urbium* (Epiphany), *Audit tyrannus anxius*, and *Salvete, flores martyrum* (Holy Innocents).

6. *Peristephanon* (*On the Crown of the Martyrs*). A *collection* of 14 hymns celebrating the life and death of a certain number of Spanish or other martyrs; SS. Emeritus, Laurentius, Vincentius, Eulalia, Peter and Paul, Cyprian, Hippolytus, Agnes, etc. The last six were penned at Rome, c. 400, or shortly afterwards. The different accounts are taken from popular traditions. Prudentius has often been blamed for the realism of his descriptions and the horror in his pictures of martyrdom; but it must be remembered that the author was a Spaniard, writing for readers who had witnessed the bloody fights of the amphitheatre. All in all, the *Peristephanon* is a very remarkable work and one of those which contributed most to its author's fame.

7. Dittochaeon (Διττοχαῖον), *Double Nourishment*, is a collection [249] of 49 inscriptions, each of them in four hexameters, probably intended to be placed under pictures of Old and New Testament scenes. They are often mediocre.

The details we have just given show that Prudentius was a writer capable of treating equally well lyrical, epic, and didactic subjects. He was a born poet, of lively imagination, warm and colorful style, thoroughly acquainted with the technique of versification and its adaptability to different kinds of verse. He is the best poet of the fourth century. This superiority he owes to the Christian faith and to his classical education. The faith brought him that fullness of thought which was so often lacking in the heathen poets of that period; his classical education gave him a rich and ready diction, often wanting in other Christian poets. His compositions are not, however, without defects. He is unduly emphatic, diffuse, and sometimes shows bad taste; his style contains neologisms and other signs of literary decadence. These faults do not, however, entirely mar the general effect of his work.

In comparison with the Spanish poets Juvencus and Prudentius, Italy at this period has only inferior talents. PROBA, the wife of C. Celsinus Adelphius, prefect of Rome in 351, undertook c. 360 to put the whole Bible into a *Cento Virgilianus*. She succeeded only in producing an obscure, odd, and very incomplete work.[1] Pope DAMASUS (366-384)[2] wrote metrical inscriptions, about 60 of which remain, for the catacombs and monuments he built or restored. They have a certain dignity befitting their destination but are poor poetry. Damasus wrote also shorter poems on David and St. Paul.[5]

Undoubtedly the best of the Italian poets of this period is the priest CAELIUS SEDULIUS, who, c. 430, under the title of *Paschale Carmen* (Paschal Hymn), composed a work in 5 books on the miracles of Our Lord. He speaks only of Christ's miracles and does not adhere closely to the Gospel text, like Juvencus; the style is vivid and the thought original. We have also a kind of prose paraphrase of this *Paschale Carmen*, written by Sedulius himself, together with two hymns, the second of which has partly found a place [250] in the liturgy and furnished *A soils ortus cardine* (Christmas) and *Crudelis Herodes Deum* (Epiphany).[3]

In Gaul the poetical vein was richer. It is true that AUSONIUS (b. at Bordeaux, c. 300; d. c. 395) can hardly be classed as a Christian. His faith was not deep and there was more virtuosity than real strength in his talent. Yet he has left us a few poems (*Paschal Prayer, Morning Prayer*, etc.) in which the Catholic faith is expressed in an unequivocal way.[4]

Ausonius had a disciple who was more Christian than he, namely PONTIUS MEROPIUS ANICIUS PAULINUS.[5] He was born at or near Bordeaux, probably in 353, of a very wealthy and distinguished family. Having been the pupil of Ausonius, who always remained his friend, he became preceptor at the imperial court and governor of Campania. Then, after his marriage with Therasia, a Spanish lady, he retired to his estates, to enjoy his wealth honestly. There he fell a captive to divine grace, which lifted him up to loftier spheres. In 389 or 390 he received Baptism, distributed part of his goods among the poor, withdrew first to Barcelona, where he was ordained priest, c. 394, and then, in 395, to Nola in Campania, where he took up his residence near the tomb of St. Felix to lead, with his wife, a life of poverty and asceticism. In 409, upon the death of the Bishop of Nola, Paulinus was chosen to succeed him, and the rest of his life was spent in a ministry which embraced both the material and the spiritual needs of his flock and the relief of misery and misfortune. He died June 22, 431.

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[1] *P. L.*, XIX, 803-818 and C. SCHENKL in the *Corp. Script. Eccl. Latin.*, XVI, Wien, 1888.

[2] *P. L.*, XIII and IHM, *Damasi Epigrammata*, Lipsiae, 1895. See C. WEYMAN, *De Carminibus Damasianis et Pseudodamasianis Observationes* in *Revue d'Hist. et de Litt. Relig.*, I (1896), 58-73.

[3] *P. L.*, XIX, and I. HÜMER, in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, X, Wien, 1885. See I. HÜMER, *De Sedulii Poetae Vita et Scriptis Commentatio* Wien, 1878.

[4] Works in *P. L.*, xix, 817 ff. Better edit, by K. SCHENKL, in *Monum. Germ. Histor., Auctor. Antiqu.*, v. 2, Berlin, 1883. See A. PUECH, *De Paulini Nolani Ausoniique Epistularum Commercio*, Paris, 1887; L. VILLANI, *Quelques Observations sur les Chants Chrétiens d'Ausone*, in *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, VIII (1906). P. DE LABRIOLLE, *La Correspondance d'Ausone et de Paulin de Nole*, Paris, 1910. R. PICHON, *Les Derniers Ecrivains Profanes*, Paris, 1906, Appendices III and IV.

[5] Works in *P. L.*, LXI, better edit, by G. HARTEL, in *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.*, XXIX, XXX, Wien, 1894. See F. LAGRANGE, *Histoire de Saint Paulin de Nole*. Paris, 1877. A. BAUDRILLART, *S. Paulin, Ev. de Nole*, Paris, 1904 (*Les Saints*). G. BOISSIER, *La Fin du Paganisme*, II, 57-121.

Paulinus corresponded with the most famous men of his time, — St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome, — and [251] enjoyed the universal esteem which his virtues deserved. He was a gentle, kind, and naturally sympathetic character. As a poet, he is far inferior to Prudentius in originality, strength, richness of diction, and especially in imagination; but he is his superior in taste, tact, and calm simplicity of expression. Paulinus is a classicist. His verse is easy, harmonious, and fluent to a fault, for it sometimes happens that there is nothing poetical about it. It is the work of an honest man, who does not attempt lofty flights. In matter of fact Paulinus is not a great poet, but he is a poet read willingly for his pleasant and soothing imagery.

If we pass over a few fragments composed previous to his Baptism, Paulinus wrote, before settling down at Nola in 395, Poem VI (edit. Hartel) on St. John the Baptist; Poems VII, VIII, and IX, paraphrases of Psalms I, 2, and 136; and two letters to Ausonius, in which he justifies the resolution he has taken to leave the world; — perhaps the most beautiful things he has written.

During his sojourn at Nola (395-431) he wrote the 14 poems on St. Felix (except the twelfth, written in Spain), in which he praises the virtues of the Saint, relates some of his miracles, and describes his basilica and the pilgrimages to his tomb; and two letters, one *Ad Ausonium* (*carm*. 32), directed against paganism, the other *Ad Jovium* (*carm*. 22), on Providence. Then come the farewell poem (*carm*. 17) to Nicetas of Remesiana (398), the epithalamium (*carm*. 25) for the wedding of the future Julian of Eclanum (403) and the *De Obitu Celsi* (*carm*. 31), a poem of condolence addressed to parents whose son had died.

St. Paulinus also wrote some metrical inscriptions. Sulpicius Severus having asked for some for his edifices at Primuliacum, in honor of St. Martin, Paulinus sent him, together with letter 32, a copy of the inscriptions he had had cut at Nola and the text of those he had written for Primuliacum. They have much in common with those of Pope Damasus. A series of other inscriptions, in explanation of some mural paintings, *Obitus Baebiani diverse modo et metro dictus*, are of uncertain authenticity.

The prose works of St. Paulinus cannot compare, as a whole, with his poetical productions. His *Panegyric on Theodosius*, written at the end of 394, is lost; but we have among his letters (*Ep*. 34) a sermon on beneficence, *De Gazophylacio*. The letters themselves, 51 in number, reflect [252] the unreal and empty verbosity which at that time characterized Gallic literature. However, they abound in lofty and delicate sentiments and are instructive for the knowledge of the history and customs of the time.

Among the correspondents of St. Paulinus must be mentioned the Gallic rhetorician SEVERUS SANCTUS ENDELECHIUS, author of a short bucolic poem entitled *De Virtute Signi Crucis Domini*.[1]

To another Gallic writer, CYPRIANUS GALLUS, is attributed a metrical recension of all the historical books of the Old Testament. About half of the work is known to us. The style is monotonous, the vocabulary poor, and the verses incorrect. The date of composition is reckoned between 408 and 430.[2]

More interesting and lively are two small poems, *De Sodoma* and *De Iona*, the first of which narrates the down fall of Sodom and the second the salvation of Ninive. Both have been attributed to Cyprian or, more correctly, to one of his contemporaries. The author has imagination and a true understanding of nature.[3]

Shortly afterwards, c. 430, a bishop of Auch, ORIENTIUS (St. Orens) wrote a *Commonitorium* in two books of verse; their style is unaffected and earnest. Other poems current under his name are of doubtful authenticity.[4]

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[1] *P. L.*, XIX, 797-800.

[2] Edit. R. PEIPER, *Cypriani Galli Poetae Heptateuchos* in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XXIII, Wien, 1891. See H. BEST, *De Cypriani quae feruntur metris in Heptateuchum, Marpurgi Catt*., 1891.

[3] *P. L.*, II, 1101-1114; better edit, by PEIPER, *op. cit*.

[4] *P. L.*, LXI, 977-1000; better edit, by R. ELLIS, *Poetae Christiani Minores*, I, in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XVI, Wien, 1888, p. 191-261. See L. BELLANGER, *Le Poème d'Orientius*, Paris, 1903. ID., *Recherches sur Saint Orens, Evêque d'Auch*, Auch, 1903.

Finally, under the name of PAULINUS (of Béziers? c. 400-419) we possess a satire on contemporary manners;[1] and under the name of CLAUDIUS MARIUS VICTOR, "*Orator Massiliensis*," a poem in 3 books, entitled *Alethia* (Ἀληθεία), which gives an account of the events that took place from the creation of the world to the downfall of Sodom and Gomorrha. The author shows great talent and good taste; he is probably to be identified with the *Victorius Rhetor Massiliensis* [253] of whom Gennadius[2] speaks, and who died after the year 425.[3]

8. ST. JEROME[4]

Few lives have been more turbulent and active than that of St. Jerome. Born at Stridon in Dalmatia, c. 342, of Christian parentage, Eusebius Hieronymus came to Rome at the age of twenty to complete his education. Here he attended the lessons of the famous grammarian Donatus, and passionately devoted himself to study. He did not escape the temptations of youth, but neither did he fail to deplore his sins and, c. 364-365, was baptized by Pope Liberius.

Then began for him a series of journeys. He went first to Treves, where he took the resolution to become a monk, then came back to Aquileia, where he associated with Rufinus and joined a circle of young men for the twofold pursuit of science and virtue. About 373, he set out for the East. After listening to Apollinaris of Laodicea, at Antioch, he plunged into the desert of Chalcis and there led the life of a hermit in all its austerity. In his leisure hours he read the Scriptures and began the study of Hebrew. At the end of a few years theological controversies drove him out of the desert. He returned to Antioch, was ordained priest by Bishop Paulinus, whose communion he adopted, came to Constantinople in 381, where he met Gregory of Nazianzus, and, finally, in 382, accompanied Paulinus of Antioch and St. Epiphanius to Rome.

Now his life work began to assume definite outlines. At Rome he became the secretary of Pope Damasus and at the request of this pope wrote numerous translations and commentaries. [254] At the same time he formed and maintained in the house of Marcella a select circle of noble ladies, distinguished by birth and virtue, to whom he explained the Scriptures, urging them on in the way of Christian perfection. The public took alarm, and part of the Roman clergy protested against the boldness of his scriptural criticism. When Damasus died, in 384, Jerome had to give way before the storm. In 385 he set out, with Paula and Eustochium, for the East, visited Alexandria and Egypt and, in 386, finally took up his residence at Bethlehem, in a grotto near the monastery of Paula.

Here he spent the last and most fruitful years of his life, studying, dictating, and writing. From 386-392 his life was peaceful and, on the whole, happy. From 392-404 it was troubled by the Origenist controversies and the struggles against Jovinian and Vigilantius. From 405-420 it was saddened by sickness and poverty, by the death of his friends, and the threatening invasions of the barbarians. The old athlete braved all these things and worked on unflaggingly until death forced him to lay aside his pen, September 30, 420.

St. Jerome was neither a thinker and theologian like St. Augustine, nor an orator and a shepherd of souls like St. Ambrose or St. Leo; he was a scholar, and incontestably the most erudite of the Latin Fathers, not excepting even St. Augustine. His erudition extended even to profane literature, of which he had read at

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[1] *P. L.*, among the works of Marius VICTOR, LXI, 969-972, and C. SCHENKL, *Poetae Christ. Minores*, I, in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XVI, Wien, 1888, p. 499-510.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 60.

[3] *P. L.*, LXI, 937-970, under the title of *Contmentarii in Genesim*, and C. SCHENKL, *loc. cit.*, 335-498. See A. BOURGOIN, *De Claudia Mario Victore*, Paris, 1883. SAINT-GAMBER, *Un Rhéteur Chrétien au v^o Siècle, Claudius Marius Victor*, Marseille, 1884.

[4] Works in *P. L.*, XXII-XXX; G. MORIN, *Anecdota Maredsolana*, III, 1-3. Maredsous, 1895-1903; B. DE MATOUGUES, *Œuvres de S. Jérôme*, Paris, 1838. See P. LARGENT, *S. Jérôme*, Paris, 1898 (*Les Saints*). L. SANDERS, *Études sur Saint Jérôme*, Paris, 1903. A. THIERRY, *Saint Jérôme, la Société Chrétienne à Rome et l'Emigration Romaine en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 3^o edit., 1876. P. DE LABRIOLLE, *Saint Jérôme: Vie de Paul de Thèbes et Vie d'Hilarion*, Paris, 1907. F. LAGRANGE, *Lettres Choisies de S. Jérôme*, Paris, 1900. H. GOELZER, *Etude lexicographique et grammatical de la Latinité de S. Jérôme*, Paris, 1884.

least all the Latin productions; but it embraced particularly Christian literature, the remains of which, both Greek and Latin, were all known to him. He knew three languages well, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and also Chaldaic or Aramaic, and had a thorough acquaintance with biblical history and geography, Church history, and the lives of the Fathers.

His work centered chiefly on the translation and explanation of the Scriptures, and here he is without a rival in the West. His translations of the Bible, in spite of their defects, are altogether remarkable and must be considered the best part of his work. His thorough knowledge of the language, customs, and history of the Jews, served him admirably. His commentaries are inferior. Composed hurriedly, and often of fragments borrowed from earlier exegetes (Origen, Eusebius, Apollinaris, Didymus, etc.) they are rather collections of materials than the product of consecutive and [255] independent thought. The allegorical interpretation is perceptible in his earlier works; later he insisted more on the literal interpretation, a result both of his studies of the text itself and of his opposition to Origen. In his early works, Jerome, like all his contemporaries, held the Septuagint in high esteem; at the end, his preferences are for the original Hebrew, and as a consequence he diminishes the authority of the deutero-canonical books.

St. Jerome's defects of character are well known. His temperament was by nature immoderate and violent and led him to uphold obstinately a party he had once embraced; his sensitiveness made him chafe at criticism or contradiction. These defects sometimes prompted him to actions and words that were most regrettable. He realized these faults, without always succeeding in overcoming them. But if he was far from being perfect as a man, he was a writer of the very first order. No one among the Latin Fathers has handled the Latin language as well as he. He has, when he desires, all the correctness of Lactantius and all the life, color, clever sarcasm and variety of Tertullian. But he is clearer than Tertullian; his style is more polished, and there is more ardor in his composition. If at times he indulges over much in rhetoric and artificiality, he pays tribute to the taste prevalent in his time. It is rather surprising that Jerome, who travelled so much and lived so long in the East, was able to preserve as well as he did the purity and genius of the Latin tongue.

Even during his lifetime, the authority of St. Jerome was very great, and his works have been relatively well preserved. In describing his writings we begin with his translations and then pass to his commentaries, his dogmatico-polemical works, historical works, homiletic works, and letters.

1. TRANSLATIONS. — St. Jerome translated first the 78 homilies of Origen on Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, the Canticle of Canticles and St. Luke; then, c. 398, his work *De Principiis*. His *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum* was a translation, for the Old Testament, of a work of Philo and for the New, of a work of Origen. In 380, he translated the second part of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle*, to which he added a continuation from the year 325 to the year 378, and the *Onomasticon*, which he revised and rearranged. Between 384 and 392 he translated the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto* of Didymus the Blind; an anti-Origenist [256] letter of St. Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem; a synodal letter (399) of Theophilus of Alexandria, 4 paschal letters and a (lost) pamphlet against St. John Chrysostom; and finally the monastic rule and a few other writings (404) of the Abbot Pachomius and his successors.

St. Jerome's principal translation, however, is his version of the Old Testament. He made three series of studies on the biblical text, in view of bettering the old Latin version and giving a new translation.

As early as 383, St. Jerome, at the request of Pope Damasus, had begun to revise the old *Itala* in order to restore it to its original purity and to make the needed corrections. In this way St. Jerome revised the whole of the New Testament, and then the Psalms, basing the revision of the latter on the Septuagint version. The text of the New Testament thus revised was immediately adopted for the liturgy; Jerome's revision of the Psalms, called the *Psalterium Romanum*, was also adopted and is still in use at St. Peter's in Rome.

A second work, undertaken c. 386 in Palestine, consisted in revising, according to the Hexapla of Origen, the Psalms and most of the other books of the Old Testament. Of this second work there remains only the Book of Job and the Psalms. The revised text of the Psalms was termed *Psalterium Gallicanum* because it was first adopted in Gaul. It is the one found in our Latin Bibles.

Finally, in 391, St. Jerome undertook a last and more original work, — that of making a new Latin translation of the whole of the Old Testament (except the deutero-canonical books), not from the Greek, but from the original Hebrew. This work was completed c. 405. As a whole, this translation is very exact, although certain parts are imperfect. Still, two hundred years passed before it was universally accepted. In the thirteenth century it was given the name of *Vulgate*, which it has kept ever since.

2. COMMENTARIES. — St. Jerome's commentaries on the Old Testament comprise: (a) *Quaestionum Hebraicarum in Genesim Liber Unus*, written c. 389; (b) *Commentarioli*, brief notes and scholia on certain selected Psalms (c. 392); (c) a commentary on Ecclesiastes according to the Hebrew (c. 389); (d) commentaries on the Minor Prophets, begun c. 391: first on Nahum, Micheas, Sophonias, Aggeus, and Habacuc; c. 394 on Jonas and Abdias; and in 406 on Zacharias, [257] Malachias, Osee, Joel and Amos; (e) commentaries on the four major prophets: Daniel, c. 407; Isaias, 408-410; Ezechiel, 410-415; and Jeremias, 415-420. The latter commentary is entirely historical and the best of them all, though it has remained incomplete. In the other commentaries, as it has been said, St. Jerome mixes history, allegory, and moral teaching and mostly depends on authors who have preceded him, especially on Origen.

St. Jerome's commentaries on the books of the *New Testament* are less numerous. They comprise only: (a) commentaries on the four epistles of St. Paul to Philemon, the Galatians, the Ephesians and Titus (386-387); (b) a commentary on St. Matthew (398), mostly literal and historical; and (c) a recast of the commentary of Victorinus of Pettau on the Apocalypse, extant in two recensions, the shorter of which alone represents the work of St. Jerome.

3. DOGMATICO-POLEMICAL WORKS. — St. Jerome did not write any dogmatic treatises, properly so called. It was only occasionally that he referred to theological questions to defend Christian faith and morality. The first composition of this kind is the *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* (c. 382), a calm and pointed refutation of Luciferian rigorism. About 383 he wrote his *Liber adv. Helvidium de Perpetua Virginitate B. Mariae;* in 393 the work *Adversus Jovinianum*, 2 books, in which he makes a plea, not without some exaggeration, for perfect continence; in 406 the little work *Contra Vigilantium*, dictated in one night, an apology for the ecclesiastical cultus of saints and relics; lastly, in 415, the *Dialogus contra Pelagianos*, 3 books, which deal with questions of grace and predestination. This latter treatise is well balanced and carefully composed, although inferior to similar treatises by St. Augustine.

The works written on the occasion of the Origenist controversy must be mentioned apart: (a) *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* (398-399), a refutation of a long memoir written by the Bishop of Jerusalem, in which he justifies himself against the accusation of Origenism; (b) the 3 important books against Rufinus — *Apologia adversus Libros Rufini* (401) and *Liber Tertius seu Ultima Responsio adversus Scripta Rufini* (401-402), philippics most eloquent in the passion which inspires them and the fire which animates them, but in which wit sometimes takes the place of sound argument. [258]

4. HISTORICAL WORKS. — We have already mentioned St. Jerome's translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius and the additions he made to it. Foremost among his own historical works is the *De Viris Illustribus*, the first essay we possess on the history of Christian literature. In its 135 chapters St. Jerome enumerates all the Christian writers he knew of from St. Peter down to himself, giving the title and purpose of their works. However incomplete and defective this history, composed in 392, may be, it is none the less extremely precious.

To this we must add a few *Lives* of the Fathers, written for edification: the *Vita Pauli Monachi* (c. 376); the *Vita Malchi* (390 or 391); and the *Vita Beati Hilarionis*, the founder of Palestinian monachism (begun in 391). Several of St. Jerome's letters also contain interesting necrological notices on contemporary personages. As to the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, it has nothing to do with St. Jerome, but is a compilation from martyrological calendars, written at Auxerre in the sixth century.

5. HOMILIES. — The homiletical work of St. Jerome has been brought to light by Dom Morin, who has edited about 100 of his discourses on the Psalms, Isaias, St. Mark, etc. These discourses, colloquial in

character, were delivered at Bethlehem to the monks of the monastery or of neighboring monasteries, and mostly comment on the passages read during the liturgical service. The texts we possess represent copies taken by stenographers, which were not revised by the author, and this explains their careless style.

6. LETTERS. — Finally, St. Jerome was a most remarkable and voluminous correspondent. We may even say that, of all his writings, his letters have been most universally and appreciatively read and are the best from a literary point of view. As he was more a writer than an orator, he exerted his influence particularly through his pen, and destining his letters for publicity, took great care both of subject matter and form. He himself made several collections of them: letters to Marcella, to Paula and Eustochium, and others. At present we possess about 125, which Ebert has divided into seven different categories: commonplace letters, which give and ask for news of his friends; letters of condolence and consolation, to which belong also the necrological notices; ascetical letters; polemical and apologetical letters; and those [259] which treat scientific and theological questions, especially of exegesis. They are all instructive and very interesting.

9. ST. AUGUSTINE[1]

St. Augustine was born November 13, 354, at Tagaste, an insignificant town of Numidia. His father, Patricius, was a heathen, but his mother, Monica, was of a Christian family. The boy was extraordinarily gifted and made excellent studies, first at Tagaste, then at Madaura, and finally at Carthage, in 371. It was at Carthage that he contracted an illegitimate union, which lasted sixteen years, and of which was born his son Adeodatus (372); it was there, too, that he joined the sect of the Manichaeans (374). Having completed his course of studies at the age of nineteen, he taught successively at Tagaste and Carthage, and, in 383, set sail for Italy, where, through the good offices of the prefect Symmachus, he obtained a chair of rhetoric in the city of Milan (384). In this city grace was lying in wait for him. He listened to St. Ambrose and sometimes consulted him, and read a few Neo-Platonist treatises translated into Latin by Marius Victorinus. The crisis came in the month of August, 386. Augustine received Baptism on Easter Sunday, 387, and in the autumn of 388, after the death of his pious mother, whose tears and prayers had obtained for her son the grace of conversion, he set out for Africa. He stayed for a while with some friends at Tagaste, but when on a visit to Hippo, in 491, the Christian community of that town demanded him as a priest, he was ordained. Three years later, in 394 or 395, he received episcopal consecration and was made coadjutor to Bishop Valerius, whom he succeeded in the see of Hippo, in 395 or 396.

From now on his life was occupied by conflicts with heresy and schism, the administration of his diocese, the instruction of his people, the direction and care of his clergy, and, we may add, solicitude for the whole Church. The invasion of the Vandals marked the end of his labors, [260] for on August 28, 430, while the barbarians were laying siege to the city, Augustine, amid feelings of the most fervent repentance, gave back his soul to God. He was seventy-six years of age.

St. Augustine is the greatest genius the Church has ever possessed. His keen intelligence deeply and easily pierced the most abstract and arduous problems and rose without effort to the highest speculations. His ready and comprehensive mind was capable of grasping the most divergent subjects and of adapting itself to them all. He was a metaphysician and a psychologist, a theologian and an orator, a moralist and a historian. He dealt with controversy and exegesis, mathematics and aesthetics, music and grammar, and even wrote poetry. It seems that no work could tire his indefatigable mind. Joined to vast intellectual powers were an exquisite sensibility, a generous and sympathetic character always inclined towards indulgence and pardon, deep piety, the gift of tears and the power of reading his own soul — indeed, all souls — and of expressing accurately its most secret emotions, practical judgment and the art of administering affairs and of leading men, which we could hardly expect to find in a philosopher and contemplative. We readily see how this combination of qualities won for St. Augustine during his life such an exceptional reputation and esteem, and after his death the greatest authority the Church ever attached to the name of any of her doctors.

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, XXXII-XLVII. Special editions of St. Augustine's principal works will be referred to in their proper place. See POUJOULAT, *Histoire de S. Augustin*, 7th edit., Paris, 1886. A. HATZFELD, *S. Augustin*, Paris, 1897 (*Les Saints*). L. BERTRAND, *S. Augustin*, Paris, 1913. ID., *Les Plus Belles Pages de S. Augustin*, Paris, 1914.

This authority was so great that it was appealed to not only by orthodox Christians, but by heretics who sought to shield their errors beneath the aegis of the Bishop of Hippo.

St. Augustine as a writer, however, does not equal St. Augustine as a thinker. Not that he did not know the rules of composition and the art of elegant speech, for he had occupied the chair of eloquence. His style, like his thought, is noble and lofty and full of originality, variety, movement and life. Yet it bears the earmarks of decadence. There is too much subtlety and pungency, too many affected antitheses and deliberate assonances. Furthermore, the author does not hesitate, when he thinks it useful to his readers or listeners, to speak the language of the people and to affect "barbarism" of speech. His golden rule always was the good of souls.

St. Augustine is the most voluminous writer among the Western Fathers. At the end of his life he himself undertook, [261] in his *Retractationes* (c. 427),[1] a review of all his works, which gives the occasions in which they were written and corrects mistakes, especially those in matters of dogma; this review bears upon 94 different writings. Among these must be set apart, first, his *Confessions*, in 13 books, written c. 400, the first 9 of which reveal the personal history of Augustine's earlier life up to the death of his mother in 387.[2] The entire work is an outpouring of Augustine's heart to God, who knows all about him and who has brought him peace and happiness. It is no exaggeration to say that the author of the "Confessions" has put into them his whole soul and that "tears will always be shed on some of its pages."[3]

The writings of St. Augustine may be classified as philosophical, apologetical, exegetical, dogmatic, polemical, moral and pastoral, oratorical, epistolary and poetic.

1. PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.[4] — If we omit the *De Apto et Pulchro*, composed before Augustine's conversion and no longer extant, the philosophical works of the Saint were all written during the period which immediately preceded or followed his Baptism. As a result of his conversations with his friends at Cassiciacum, during the winter of 386-387, he wrote the three books: *Contra Academicos*, to prove the possibility of reaching the truth; *De Beata Vita*, to prove that the only true happiness consists in perfect knowledge of God; and the *De Ordine*, which deals with divine order in the world and broaches the problem of the origin of evil, without fathoming it. These works are in dialogue form and their continuation is to be found in the 2 books of *Soliloquia*, on the means of attaining to supra-sensible truths, and in a third book which the author added at Milan, in 387, [262] entitled *De Immortalitate Animae*. He began at the same time a series of writings on the seven liberal arts, only a few extracts from which have reached us, *viz*.: *De Grammatica* and the first outlines of his *Principia Dialecticae* and *Principia Rhetoricae*. Only the treatise on music, (or rather rhythm; *De Musica Libri Sex*) is complete. Add to these the 2 dialogues *De Quantitate Animae* in proof of the immateriality of the soul and *De Magistro*, composed after Easter, 387, — the former at Rome and the latter in Africa, — and you have a list of the philosophical works that Augustine certainly wrote. The philosophy he develops is the doctrine of Neo-Platonism, which he clearly preferred as the most spiritual of all, and which he thought best suited to leading men's minds towards Christinaity; he is on his guard, however, against illuminism, the dangerous tendency of this system, as well as against the errors into which he might fall.

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[1] The word *Retractatio* must be understood not in the modern sense of the term, but in the etymological sense of *Revision*.

[2] The word *Confessions* should convey the idea of *Praises* (to God) rather than *Avowals* or *Disclosures*. Special editions of this work are very numerous, *v.g*. P. KNÖLL, in the *Corp. Script. Eccles. Latin*., XXXIII. French transl. by L. MOREAU, Paris, 1841 and P. JANET, Paris, 1872. See C. DOUAIS, *Les Confessions de S. Augustin*, Paris, 1893.

[3] L. Duchesne.

[4] On the philosophy of St. Augustine, see J. F. NOURISSON, *La Philosophie de S. Augustin*, 2e edit, Paris, 1866. FERRAZ, *De la Psychologie de S. Augustin*, Paris, 1862. L. GRANDGEORGE, *S. Augustin et le Néoplatonisme*, Paris, 1896. J. MARTIN, *S. Augustin*, Paris, 1901.

2. APOLOGETICAL WORKS. — The most important of St. Augustine's apologetical works is his treatise *De Civitate Dei*,[1] after the "Confessions" his most widely read book. The sack of Rome by Alaric, in 410, had been an occasion for the heathen to renew against Christianity the old accusation of causing the ruin of the Empire. St. Augustine undertook to refute this calumny; but he broadened his subject and, in 22 books, written between 413 and 426, dealt comprehensively with the relations between Christianity and paganism and the divine plan governing the world. The work is divided into two parts. The first 10 books refute the popular opinion that the prosperity of the State is bound up with polytheistic worship (1-5) and the opinion of philosophers that this same worship, if well understood, is necessary for happiness in a future life (6-10). In the second part, comprising the last 12 books, the author draws a parallel between the two cities, the city of good, represented by the true religion — Monotheism, Judaism, Christianity, — and the city of evil, represented by error and paganism. He studies the origin (10-14), development, progress (15-18), definite purpose, and end (19-22) of each city. Upon this immense framework the author has built a synthesis of [263] theology and a complete philosophy of history. The main idea is forcibly brought out and interesting details abound, but, perhaps because it took the author thirteen years to compose the various books, they are but loosely connected and seem more like independent dissertations. The same defect is to be found in each book, where we meet with numerous digressions, which turn the mind from the predominant thought and make it lose sight of the subject.

Besides this great apology we must name 2 other writings of similar purpose: a dissertation against the heathen science of divination, *De Divinatione Daemonum* (406-411), and a treatise or sermon *Adversus Judaeos*.

3. EXEGETICAL WORKS.[2] — St. Augustine commented upon the Sacred Books both in the homilies he addressed to the people and in the treatises and commentaries he composed. The text which he explained was usually that of the ancient Itala, used in Africa, for he did not know Hebrew and had only an imperfect knowledge of Greek. In his written treatises he brought out the literal sense, which, for him, seemed to be the fundamental and true one; but in his homilies he developed rather the spiritual and allegorical sense, the mysteries of which his free and fecund genius would easily adapt to the wants of his audience.

The most important of St. Augustine's exegetical writings are: (a) The 4 books *De Doctrina Christiana* (397-426), a small manual of biblical hermeneutics, in which he lays down the rules to be followed in investigating the true meaning of the Scriptures (1-3) and how to explain them to the faithful (4); (b) The homilies on the Psalms (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*), popular talks full of life and originality; (c) The 124 *Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium*, preached c. 416, remarkable for their theology and mystical doctrine; and (d) The 4 books *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (c. 399), in which the author upholds the absolute inerrancy of the Gospels.

After these we may mention: For the *Old Testament:* (a) Three commentaries on Genesis, none of which satisfied the author, — *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (written before 391; too allegorical), *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber* (c. 393; explains only the first chapter), and the 12 books [264] *De Genesi ad Litteram* (401-415; does not go beyond the third chapter); (b) Two writings on the Heptateuch — *Locutionum Libri Septem* and *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum Libri Septem* (both c. 419), illustrating difficult terms used in this part of the Bible; and (c) The *Adnotationum in Job Liber Unus*, a compilation of disconnected notes.

For the *New Testament:* (a) *Quaestionum Evangeliorum Libri Duo* (St. Matthew and St. Luke; c. 399); (b) *De Sermone Domini in Monte* (c. 393); (c) *In Epistolam Ioannis ad Parthos* (*Ep. I Joan.*) *Tractatus X* (c. 416); (d) Two treatises on the Epistle to the Romans, — *Expositio quarumdam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanes* and *Epistolae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio* (c. 394); (e) a treatise on the Epistle to

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[1] Special editions by B. DOMBART, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1905-1908, and C. HOFFMANN in the *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.*, XL, Wien, 1899-1900. French transl. by L. MOREAU, Paris, 1843 and 1846. See G. BOISSIER, *Le Fin du Paganisme*, II, 339-390.

[2] See C. DOUAIS, *S. Augustin et la Bible*, in *Revue Biblique*, II and III (1893-1894). E. MOIRAT, *Notion augustinienne de l'herméneutique*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1906.

the Galatians, *Epistolae ad Galatas Expositio* (c. 394); and (f) *Expositio Epistolae Iacobi*, which has perished.

4. DOGMATIC WORKS. — Whatever may be St. Augustine's claim to merit as an exegete, as a theologian he is without a rival. No one ever had such a profound insight into the truths of the supernatural world, understood their connection and inmost meaning better and exposed their mysteries so well. He is the source from which all authors of the Middle Ages have drawn and which still supplies the wants of modern theology.

The longest and most important of his dogmatic works is the *De Trinitate*, in 15 books, begun c. 398, and finished after 416, in which the author sums up the belief of former centuries and gives his own exposition of the mystery. In the first 7 books he develops the true doctrine of the Scriptures, while in the other 8 he undertakes to justify it and to give it, as far as possible, a scientific illustration. His work is the prelude to the efforts of the Middle Ages in this direction.

After the *De Trinitate* come, in order of importance, the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*[1] (c. 421), a precise and systematic account of Christian doctrine; *De Fide et Symbolo* (393), an exposition of the Apostles Creed; *De Fide Rerum quae non Videntur* (after 399), a justification of belief in supernatural truths; and *De Fide et Operibus* (413), a demonstration of the necessity of good works for salvation. In the 2 books *De Conjugiis Adulterinis* (c. 419) the author [265] defends the absolute indissolubility of Christian marriage; and in *De Cura Gerenda pro Mortuis* (c. 421) explains the way in which we ought to help the dead. Finally, 3 works or 3 collections of answers deal with a number of dogmatic and exegetical problems; they are: *De Diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII* (begun in 388), *De Diversis Qitacstionibus ad Simplicianum Libri Duo* (c. 397), and *De Octo Dulcitii Quaestionibus* (422 or 425).

5. POLEMICAL WORKS. — The dogmatic writings of St. Augustine are supplemented by his polemical writings, since the ultimate purpose of the latter is to defend the Catholic doctrine, and since it is precisely in combating schism and heresy that the Bishop of Hippo has set forth his newest and most pregnant ideas. Augustine fought all the errors of his time, — Manichæism, Priscillianism, Donatism, Pelagianism and Arianism, — sometimes reviving and enforcing against them refutations already old, sometimes — as against Pelagianism — creating a new arsenal of effective weapons, but always maintaining the discussion at that impersonal height from which it must not descend and where it becomes impassioned for the sake of truth alone.

First comes the treatise *De Haeresibus*, which is a history of heresies, written c. 428.

The Manichæans[2] were the first to draw St. Augustine's attack. Against them he wrote about 12 books, in which he refuted their principles and unmasked the immorality of their lives: *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae et de Moribus Manichaeorum Libri Duo*, published c. 389; *De Libero Arbitrio Libri Tres*, published c. 395; *De Vera Religione* (390); *De Utilitate Credendi ad Honoratum* (391); *De Duabus Animabus contra Manichaeos* (391); *Acta seu Disputatio contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (392); *Contra Adimantum Manichaei Discipulum* (c. 394); *Contra Epistolam Manichaei quam vocant Fundamenti* (396-397); *Contra Faustum Manichaeum Libri Triginta Tres* (c. 400), the longest work of all; *De Actis cum Felice Manichaeo Libri Duo* (404); *De Natura Boni contra Manichaeos* (after 404); and *Contra Secundinum Munichaeum* (c. 405), a complete little treatise. We have already mentioned, in connection with Augustine's exegetical works, his Commentary on Genesis against the Manichseans; they are again his target [266] in the *Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum* (420), in which the Saint refutes the error which attributes the Old Testament to the devil. The Bishop of Hippo was not in direct contact with the Priscillianists and wrote against them only one treatise, *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas* (415).

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[1] Special editions by J. B. FAURE, also by PASSAGLIA, Naples, 1847, and KRABINGER, Tubingen, 1861.

[2] See C. DOUAIS, *Saint Augustin contre le Manichéisme de son Temps*, Paris, 1895.

With the Donatists the controversy descends from the heights of metaphysics to more practical questions, relating to the holiness of the Church and the validity of the Sacraments when administered by notoriously unworthy ministers. St. Augustine found the Donatists a well organized sect. He attacked them with great energy and before his death had the joy of witnessing a notable decline among them. Eleven works against this schism are still extant: *Psalmus contra Partem Donati* or *Psalmus Abccedarius* (393), popular in style and destined to be sung in church by the people;[1] *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* (c. 400); *De Baptismo contra Donatistas Libri Septem* (c. 400); *Contra Litteras Petiliani Donatistae Libri Tres* (400-402), also an important work; *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum Libri Quatuor* (c. 406); *De Unico Baptismo contra Petilianitm* (c. 410); *Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis* (411), an extract from the minutes of the colloquy held at Carthage; *Ad Donatistas post Collationem* (412); *Sermo ad Caesareensis Ecclesiae Plebem; De Gestis cum Emerito Caesareensi Donatistarum Episcopo* (418); and *Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum Episcopnm Libri Duo* (c. 420). Eight other works against this schism, the titles of which we know, are lost.

Against Pelagianism, the most recent of the errors he had to combat — it was born in his own time — St. Augustine directed about 15 writings: in 412, *De Peccatorum Mentis et Remissione*, a real classic, followed by the *De Spiritu et Littera*; in 415, *De Natura et Gratia contra Pelagium* and *Liber de Perfectione Iustitiae Hominis* against Celestius; in 417, *De Gestis Pelagii*, very important historically; in 418, *De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali Libri Duo*; in 419, *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*, and, towards the end of the same year, *De Anima et eius Origine Libri Quatuor*; in 420, or a little later, *Contra Duos Epistolas Pelagianorum*; and in 421, or shortly after, *Contra Julianum Libri Sex*. In 426, or 427, Augustine addressed two works — [267] *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* and *De Correptione et Gratia* — to a community of monks at Adrumetum who had difficulties concerning the doctrine he had expounded. The latter work is one of those in which Augustine develops his system most extensively. In 428-429 he wrote the two works which were formerly one, — *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum Liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium Primus* and *De Dono Perseverantiae Liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium Secundus*; and finally, a second reply to Julian of Eclanum which remains unfinished, — *Contra Iulianum Opus Imperfectum* (429-430).

St. Augustine fought Arianism indirectly by his beautiful treatise *De Trinitate*, already mentioned, and directly by refuting a manual of Arian theology in his *Contra Sermonem Arianorum Liber Unus* (418) and in his reply to Maximinus, an Arian bishop, — *Contra Maximinum Haereticum, Arianorum Episcopum* (427 or 428).

6. WORKS OF MORAL AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY.[2] — St. Augustine was not only a formidable and resourceful controversialist, but likewise a judicious and exact moralist. He is the author of a work entitled *De Agone Christiano*, written c. 396 or 397, to encourage Christians in the struggle against evil, and of a *Speculum* (427), a collection of moral precepts gathered from the Old and New Testaments. He established the reprehensible character of lying by two treatises, — *De Mendacio* (c. 395), rather obscure and unsatisfactory, and *Contra Mendacium* (c. 420), in which is to be found his definitive teaching on the subject. The two treatises *De Continentia* (c. 395) and *De Patientia* (before 418), are partly reproductions of homiletic discourses. About 401, in reply to the attacks of Jovinian against celibacy, he wrote, first, the *De Bono Conjugali*, in which he proves the excellence of marriage, and then the *De Sancta Virginitate*, to show the superiority of celibacy. To this same class of writings belongs the *De Bono Viduitatis* (c. 414). Another book, *De Opere Monachorum* (c. 400) condemns idle monks and exhorts them to combine manual labor with prayer. Finally, we have the *De Catechizandis Rudibus* (c. 400), a treatise in pastoral theology, containing the earliest theory of catechetical instruction known to us. A book entitled *Contra Hilarum*, in defence of the recitation of the Psalms during the Eucharistic sacrifice, is lost. [268]

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[1] See C. DAUX, *Chant Abécédaire de Saint Augustin contre les Donatistes*, Arras, 1905.

[2] J. MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus*, Freiburg i. B., 1909.

7. ORATORICAL WORKS.[1] — St. Augustine was a forcible speaker as well as a great writer. Each Sunday and feast-day he delivered short, colloquial instructions, alive with interest, to his rude and uncultured flock at Hippo. The moral note is always dominant in them, no matter what their subject. His chief aim is to convert and edify his hearers; nevertheless, his moral lessons are neither vague nor dull. He conveys them to the people in the form of compact and rapid dialogues, which the preacher imagines between himself and the people, and which mirror the versatility of his genius. The listener is surprised by his original and direct expressions, and can be neither distracted nor drowsy. From the very start the Bishop gains the attention of his auditors, and holds it till he succeeds in winning their hearts and induces them to mend their lives.

The Benedictine edition of the works of St. Augustine contains 363 authentic sermons in addition to the *Enarrationes* and *Tractatus* on biblical texts. These sermons are divided into 4 groups: *Sermones de Scripturis Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, (nos. 1-183); *Sermones de Tempore* (nos. 184-272), preached on the great feasts of Our Lord or during the Lenten period; *Sermones de Sanctis* (273-340), panegyrics of martyrs and other saints; and *Sermones de Diversis* (341-363), which cannot be classified under any one of the foregoing heads, comprising dogmatic, moral, and occasional discourses. Since the appearance of the Benedictine edition a certain number of other sermons have been discovered and published, a few of which may be authentic. There is not the least doubt that many of St. Augustine's discourses have been lost, especially since Augustine often spoke without having written anything, and his allocutions were not always taken down in writing.

8. LETTERS AND POEMS. — We have about 220 of St. Augustine's letters, covering the period between 386 or 387 and 429. The majority are replies to philosophical, theological, or other questions; a few of them are real treatises. About a dozen are letters of consolation and about 37 purely personal. [269]

Lastly, apart from the *Psalmus contra Partem Donati*, St. Augustine has left us a few insignificant metrical pieces of small interest. We can readily understand that so brilliant a man was not able to subordinate his genius to the narrow rules of rhythm. He needed entire freedom for his thought and pen in the deep questions he fathomed and the great and varied subjects which occupied his attention.

10. DISCIPLES AND FRIENDS OF ST. AUGUSTINE — ST. PROSPER OF AQUITANIA

St. Augustine was too sympathetic and too powerful a personality not to have made many friends and disciples. Among them were EVODIUS, bishop of Uzalum (d. after 426), who left a few letters and perhaps also a treatise *De Fide contra Manichaeos*;[2] AURELIAN of Carthage, author of a circular letter against the Pelagians in 419;[3] and CAPREOLUS (d. 435), author of two remarkable letters against Nestorius and his teaching.[4] The monk LEPORIUS was induced by St. Augustine to write a retractation (*Liber Emendationis*) of the Nestorian and Pelagian errors he had once professed.[5] Two other theologians, Marius Mercator and St. Prosper, carried on a brilliant campaign against the Pelagians.

MARIUS MERCATOR,[6] a native of Africa, was probably in Rome when, in 418, he submitted to Augustine two anti-Pelagian works. These works are no longer extant. In 429 he was at Constantinople, where he listened to Nestorius and collected his sermons. It was in this city, to all appearances, that he spent the rest of his life. He remained a layman, or at least in the lower ranks of the clergy, was interested in controversies,

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[1] See COLINCAMP, *Étude Critique sur la Méthode Oratoire de S. Augustin*, Paris, 1848; G. LONGHAYE, *S. Augustin Prédicateur*, in *Études Religieuses*, XLIII (1888), 161-176; 393-413; A. DEGERT, *Quid ad Mores Ingeniaque Afrorum Cognoscenda conferant S. Augustini Sermones*, Paris, 1894; A. REGNIER, *La Latinité des Sermons de S. Augustin*, Paris, 1887.

[2] *P. L.*, XXXI, and D. MORIN, in Revue Bénédictine, XIII (1896), 481-486 and XVIII (1901), 253-256.

[3] *P. L.*, XX, 1009-1014.

[4] *P. L.*, LIII, 843-858.

[5] *P. L.*, XXXI, 1221-1230.

[6] Works in *P. L.*, XLVIII. This edition is very faulty but there is no better one.

and took an active part in the combat against Pelagianism and Nestorianism. He died probably after the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Mercator has left us both original works and Latin translations of Greek documents, the latter of greater value for us than his original writings, since they have preserved certain [270] works which would otherwise have perished. His remaining anti-Pelagian writings are: (a) *Commonitorium super Nomine Caelestii*, in which he denounced the heresy of Julian, Celestius, and their abettors, who had come to Constantinople after their departure from Italy. The work was written in Greek, in 429, and translated into Latin by the author, in 431. (b) *Liber Subnotationum in Verba Iuliani* (431 or 432), a refutation of the Bishop of Eclanum's teaching on original sin and the true cause of death, (c) Latin translations of various minor writings against the Pelagians, among which are to be found 3 letters from Nestorius to Pope Celestine and to Celestius, 4 sermons of Nestorius against Pelagianism, and extracts from a book of Theodore of Mopsuestia on original sin.

Of his writings against Nestorius we possess: (a) *Epistola de Discrimine inter Haeresim Nestorii et Dogmata Pauli Samosateni, Ebionis, Photini atque Marcelli*, written in 429; (b) *Nestorii Blasphemiarum Capitula XII*, written in 431, a refutation of the 12 counter-anathematisms Nestorius had opposed to the 12 anathematisms of St. Cyril; and (c) Latin translations of different documents relating to Nestorianism, discourses, and letters of Nestorius, discourses of Proclus of Cyzicus, letters and short writings of St. Cyril, the sixth session of the Council of Ephesus, extracts from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, etc. In these translations Mercator aimed at rigorous exactness rather than elegance of style; indeed, he seems not to have known the secret of the latter.

ST. PROSPER[1] was born, c. 390, in Aquitania, where he made extensive studies. In 429, we find him in Provence, in company with Hilary, preoccupied, though a simple layman, with questions of grace, and full of never-waning admiration for the Bishop of Hippo and his doctrine. It was from this place and about this time that each of the two friends wrote a letter[2] to St. Augustine, informing him of the opposition with which his teaching was meeting in southern Gaul, especially at Lerins and at St. Victor of Marseilles, and of the semi-Pelagian errors which were spreading there. [271] At the same time Prosper opened against the Pelagians and those later known as Semi-Pelagians the campaign, both in prose and verse, which ended only with his life. In 430-431 he undertook a journey to Rome, to obtain from Pope Celestine the condemnation of the Semi-Pelagians. It proved only half successful. On his return to Provence he resumed writing, and in his *Contra Collatorem*, attacked Cassian, whom he regarded as the leader of the heretical party. After this the controversy seems to have waned. It is thought, according to Gennadius,[3] that, when St. Leo, having been elected Pope in 440, re-entered Rome from Gaul, Prosper accompanied him and filled important functions in the papal chancery. In any case, he continued his studies of St. Augustine's works and published several doctrinal summaries of them. The date of his death is generally placed around 463.

Prosper's was a truly cultured, active, and accurate mind — "*sermone scholasticus et adsertionibus nervosus*," says Gennadius — whose style was enhanced by the ardor of his personal convictions. This ardor and zeal gives to his compositions a lively earnestness which the dry subjects he treats would seem to exclude. We must look neither for imagination nor for true poetry in his verse, yet we find both ease and elegance of expression, and the rare art of accommodating the most abstract thoughts to the exigencies of rhythm. Prosper thoroughly understood St. Augustine and may, on the whole, be considered his best interpreter. He is not a very original theologian, nor did he aim at originality, but wishes only to be the echo of him who was, to his mind, the highest exponent of the theology of grace.

St. Prosper's works may be grouped into three categories.

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, LI. See L. VALENTIN, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine*, Paris, 1900; M. JACQUIN, La Question de la Prédestination aux V^{e} et VI^{e} Siècles, in the *Revue d'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, VII (1906), 269 ff.

[2] In the collection of St. Augustine's letters, letter ccxxv is that of St Prosper, and ccxxvi that of Hilary.

[3] *Vir. Ill.*, 84.

a) The first and principal one comprises his controversial works against Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism. They are, in approximately chronological order, his letter to St. Augustine (No. 225, written in 429); the *Letter to Rufinus*; the poem *De Ingratis* (On the Enemies of Grace); and the *Epigrammata in Obtrectatorem Augustini* (429 or 430). After these come, perhaps, the *Pro Augustine Responsiones ad Excerpta Genuensium*, a series of explanations written at the request of two priests of Genoa on nine passages from St. Augustine; then the *Pro Augustino Responsiones ad Capitula Objectionum Gallorum Calumniantium* and the [272] *Pro Augustino Responsiones ad Capitula Objectionum Vincentianarum*, two replies to pamphlets written by monks of Provence, and the *Epitaphium Nestorianae et Pelagianae Haereseon* (431-432). In 433-434 Prosper composed against Cassian the *De Gratia Dei et Libero Arbitrio Liber contra Collatorem*. About 450 he published a collection of 392 sentences, drawn from St. Augustine's works, and summarized his teaching in *Sententiarum ex Operibus Sancti Augustini Dcliberatarum Liber*; part of this same collection of his is in the form of distichs, *Epigrammatum ex Sententiis Sancti Augustini Liber*. The *De Vocatione Omnium Gentium* is sometimes attributed to St. Prosper, but is the production of a moderate follower of St. Augustine, writing probably between 434 and 460, who has mitigated as far as possible the teaching of his master.

b) The second class of St. Prosper's writings comprises an explanation of the last 51 Psalms (Ps. 100-150), drawn from the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* of St. Augustine. It is probable that the original embraced the whole Psalter and that two-thirds of it have been lost.

c) Finally, St. Prosper left a *Chronicle*, the first edition of which stops at 433, the second at 445, and the last at 455. For the events which took place before 378 the author sums up, with a few corrections and additions, the chronicles of Eusebius and of St. Jerome. For the period 379-455 it is an original work and therefore of value for ecclesiastical history.

11. The Writers of Southern Gaul — Cassian

The opposition to the doctrines of St. Augustine which St. Prosper combated, had its principal center in two monasteries of southern Gaul, — Lerins and St. Victor at Marseilles. Prayer was not the only occupation in these institutions: the monks also studied and wrote. From these two centers, especially the first, went forth, in the fifth and sixth centuries, a long line of men and bishops, no less remarkable for learning than for piety. Several of them have left writings.

One of the best known of these is John Cassian[1] abbot [273] of St. Victor. He was born, c. 360-370, in Scythia, on the right bank of the lower Danube, of wealthy Christian parents, and made a good course of study, which he completed at Bethlehem, where he spent two or three years (387-389) in one of the monasteries. The ten following years he passed almost entirely in Lower Egypt, visiting the hermits and familiarizing himself with their doctrines and their life. About the year 400 we find him at Constantinople, where he was ordained deacon by St. John Chrysostom and witnessed the downfall of the great archbishop. In 405 he came to Rome to bring to Innocent I the appeal of the faithful clergy in behalf of the exiled archbishop. If he returned to Constantinople, his sojourn there was brief. He came back to Rome and finally settled at Marseilles (c. 410), where he opened two monasteries, one for men and one for women, both of which prospered under his direction. His death occurred in 435. Although the religious and cenobitic life already existed in Gaul before the time of Cassian, the rules and the decisive impulse which he gave it have led men to regard him as the father of monasticism in that country. In several churches of Provence he is honored as a saint.

There are extant three great works of Cassian. The first of these, written between 419 and 426, at the request of Castor, bishop of Apta Iulia, is entitled *De Institutes Coenobiorum et de Octo Principalium*

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, XLIX, L; better edition by M. Petschenig, in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, xiii, xvii, Wien, 1886-1888; see O. Abel, *Studien zu dem gallischen Presbyter Joh. Cassianus*, Munich, 1904. J. Laugier, *S. Jean Cassien et sa Doctrine de la Grâce*, Lyons, 1908.

Vitiorum Remediis Libri XII. In the first 4 books the author treats of the garb and prayer of the monks and the reception of novices; in the remaining 8 he describes the strife against the eight dominant vices.

The second work of Cassian, *Collationes Summorum Patrum*, is the best known of his writings. These Conferences — 28 in all — report the conversations of Cassian and his friend Germanus with the principal Egyptian hermits. The work is divided into 3 sections, each preceded by a preface and at first published separately. Conferences 1-10, completed c. 426, are addressed to Leontius, bishop of Frejus, and to the monk Hellades; conferences 11-17, also written in 426, to St. Honoratus of Lerins and to Eucherius, the future bishop of Lyons; the last 7 conferences (18-24), written in 428, are dedicated to the monks of the Hyeres islands. It is in these conversations, and especially in conference 13, that Cassian betrays the Semi-Pelagian tendencies against which St. Prosper wielded his [274] active pen. This circumstance did not prevent the books from being widely read. St. Eticherius made some excerpts from the *Conferences*, as also from the *Institutions*, and the 2 works were translated into Greek at an early date. As Cassian himself remarked, the *Conferences* were meant to be a complement to the *Institutions*, the latter dealing with the exterior, the former with the interior life of the monks.

Finally, we have a third work of the Abbot of St. Victor, entitled *De Incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium*, a refutation of the doctrine of this heresiarch, written at the request of Leo, then a deacon and afterwards pope, in 430 or 431, before the Council of Ephesus. The treatise contains 7 books and was naturally eclipsed by the refutations of St. Cyril at a later date.

As we have seen, several of Cassian's conferences are dedicated to SS. Honoratus and Eucherius. HONORATUS was, in the beginning of the fifth century, the founder of the famous monastery of Lerins. In 426, he became archbishop of Aries; he died in 428 or 429. His *Rule* and his correspondence are known to us only through fragmentary citations.

ST. EUCHERIUS[1] retired from the world, c. 410. He was first a monk at Lerins, but afterwards withdrew to the island of St. Marguerite. He was elected bishop of Lyons, c. 434, and died c. 450-455. Besides the excerpt of the works of Cassian already mentioned, he has left us 2 letters, *De Laude Eremi ad Hilarium Lerinenscm Presbyterum Epistola* and *Epistola Paracnetica ad Valeriamnn Cognatum de Contemptu Mundi ct Saecularis Philosophiae*; also 2 works to his two sons Veranus and Salonius, intended to make it easy for them to understand the Scriptures, — *Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae ad Veranum Liber Unus* and *Instructionum ad Salonium Libri Duo*. It is probable that Eucherius is the author of the much disputed account of the martyrdom of the Theban Legion, *Passio Agauncnsium Martyrum, Sanctorum Mauricii et Sociorum eius*. In the collection of his homilies the work of separating the genuine from the spurious is yet to be done. All critics have praised in Eucherius the power of persuasion and purity of style.

SALONIUS, one of his sons and bishop of Geneva or Vienne, [275] wrote *Expositiones Mysticae in Parabolas Salomonis* and a commentary on Ecclesiastes.[2]

ST. HILARY, the successor of St. Honoratus at Lerins and Aries (d. c. 449),[3] was a man of refined culture, whom Honoratus had induced to embrace the religious life. He wrote a *Life of St. Honoratus* and a short letter to St. Eucherius, which is still extant. His biographer attributes to him, besides, some homilies, an explanation of the Creed, numerous letters, and a few verses. This biographer, it is thought, is the bishop of Marseilles, also called HONORATUS (c. 492-496), the author of many homilies and of edifying *Lives*, no longer extant.

[1] Works in *P. L.*, L. See A. MELLIER, *De Vita et Scriptis S. Eucherii, Lugdun. Episcopi*, Lyons, 1878. A. GOUILLOUD, *Saint Eucher et l'Eglise de Lyon au Vᵉ Siècle*, Lyon, 1881.

[2] *P. L.*, LIII, 967-1012.

[3] *P. L.*, L.

ST. LUPUS, bishop of Troyes (427-479), also came from Lerins. His immense correspondence has perished almost entirely.[1]

At Lerins also lived and died (before the year 450) the monk VINCENT, author of the famous *Commonitorium*, so well known to theologians.[2] It was in 434 that Vincent, who had left the world and fled to Lerins, wrote, not one, but two *Commonitoria*. These memoranda, written to aid his weak memory, really constitute a single work, destined to become the rule followed by Catholics in discerning the truth in dogmatic controversies. The first *Commonitorium* indicates Scripture and tradition as the rule of faith and defines true tradition as "*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*." The second *Commonitorium*, which, as composed by the author himself, was perhaps never anything more than a summary, is an application of these principles to the recent heresies and to Nestorianism in particular. This little book, written in elegant and relatively pure Latin, was well received among controversialists, despite the fact that the entire propriety of a few of its formulas was disputed. The author probably shared the ideas of Cassian on St. Augustine's doctrine of grace; it is also probable that Augustinianism is the mark at which Chapters 26 and 28 of [276] his book are aimed. It is not yet proved that Vincent is the author of the *Objectiones Vincentianae*, refuted by St. Prosper.

The monastery of Lerins was destined to produce in after years a few more remarkable writers. We shall deal with them later. Suffice it to mention here, before leaving Southern Gaul, two other writers of this period: the priest and monk EVAGRIUS,[3] author of the *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani*, a work made up of borrowed fragments (c. 440);[4] and VALERIAN, bishop of Cemele, a city near Nice (middle of the fifth century), of whom 20 homilies and an ascetical *Epistola ad Monachos* have been preserved.[5]

12. ST. LEO AND THE ITALIAN WRITERS FROM 400-461

With the exception of Pope Damasus, whose metrical compositions have already been mentioned (p. 249), the popes of the period from the Council of Nicea to the pontificate of St. Leo have left little more than letters. We have 2 written by Julius I (327-352); 13 by Liberius (352-366), including the 4 relative to his "fall," which are of doubtful authenticity; about 10 by Damasus (366-384); 6 by Siricius (384-398); 3 by Anastasius (398-401); 38 by Innocent I (401-417); 15 by Zosimus (417-418); 9 by Boniface I (418-422); 16 by Celestine (422-432); and 8 by Sixtus III (432-440).

Sixtus III was succeeded by ST. LEO.[6] Leo was born, probably at Rome, c. 390-400, and, under Pope Celestine, held an influential position as a deacon of the Roman Church. During his stay in Gaul, whither he had been sent to reestablish peace between the two generals, Aëtius and Albinus, the choice of both clergy and people fell upon him, and he was recalled in August, 440, to ascend the chair of Peter. The situation of the Church at this time was as trying as that of the Empire, but the new pope was equal to the times. In the East, he upheld the patriarch Flavian against Eutyches and Dioscorus, annulled the decisions of the [277] Robber-Synod of Ephesus (449), and definitively condemned Monophysitism at the Council of Chalcedon (451). Simultaneously he waged war against the ambitious Anatolius and the patriarchs of the imperial city. In the West, he checked the Manichaean and Priscillian heresies and, by letter or legate, intervened in Africa, in Gaul, and as far as Illyricum, to restore or maintain ecclesiastical order. In 452 he induced Attila, who was threatening Rome, to return to the Danubian provinces; in 455 he persuaded Genseric to spare the monuments of the city and the lives of its inhabitants. When he died, November 10,

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1 *P. L.*, LVIII, 66-68. The letter to St. Sidonius Apollinaris is apocryphal.

2 *P. L.*, L, 637-686, and many other editions. French transl. with introd. and critical notes by P. DE LABRIOLLE, *S. Vincent de Lérins*, Paris, 1906 (*La Pensée Chrétienne*). See A. LOUIS, *Etude sur S. Vincent de Lérins et ses Ouvrages*, in *Revue du Clergé François*, II (1895).

3 Gennadius, *Vir. Ill.*, 50.

4 *P. L.*, XX, 1165-1182 and E. BRATKE in *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Latin.*, XLV, Wien, 1904.

5 *P. L.*, LII, 691-758.

6 Works in *P. L.*, LIV-LVI. See A. DE SAINT-CHÉRON, *Histoire du Pontificat de Saint Léon le Grand et de son Siècle*, Paris, 1846; AD. RÉGNIER, *Saint Léon le Grand*, Paris, 1910 (*Les Saints*).

461, after a pontificate of twenty-one years, it could truly be said that the Church had lost one of her greatest popes and the State one of its strongest supporters.

History rightly calls him the Great, like St. Gregory, whom he resembles in more than one respect. His was a keen, energetic, and precise mind, fond of clear formulas and refusing to subject the doctrines of the Church to Eastern subtleties and distinctions. A perusal of his writings shows that he had personally and leisurely studied the theological questions of his time and knew the answers for them. But St. Leo was above all a ruler, to whom the exercise of authority came naturally, and who possessed the practical judgment, strength, justice, and moderation which distinguish men born to command. Fully convinced of the ecumenical power embodied in his person, as successor of St. Peter, he was the first to proclaim this privilege in express terms and on various occasions, and to see in the exercise of this power the means of maintaining unity of faith and discipline in the Church. Neither is the writer in him inferior to the theologian and the ruler. This may be seen, not so much from his letters, many of which were drawn up by the papal chancery, as from his sermons, which are distinguished by simple and majestic eloquence and sonorous harmony. His diction is remarkably pure and, after that of St. Jerome, may be adjudged one of the best among the Latin Fathers. "Immovable in the serenity of his soul, St. Leo speaks as he writes, as he always thought and acted, — as a Roman."[1]

St. Leo's works are made up of discourses and letters.

His 96 genuine *discourses* belong entirely to the period of his pontificate. About half of them were delivered on feasts of our Lord and the saints; the others deal with dogmatic [278] questions against Eutyches, fasting, almsgiving, and the papal power, or explain some passage of the New Testament. They are, generally, models of conciseness.

About 143[2] of St. Leo's *letters*, covering the period from 442 to 460, have been preserved. Six of these (nos. 28, 59, 124, 129, 139, 165) are exclusively dogmatic in character. Letter 28, to Flavian, which was adopted as a rule of faith by the Council of Chalcedon, ranks first among them.[3] Others are mainly historical, referring to events in the East. A great many determine points of ecclesiastical discipline and 9 in particular deal with the chronology of Easter, apropos of the divergence between the Roman and Alexandrine methods of computation. All these letters show the authority, wisdom, and moderation of the Pontiff.

Besides these principal works, Msgr. Duchesne[4] has called attention to a few short verses written by St. Leo. It is also believed that it was St. Leo who, while still a deacon, added to letter 21 of Pope St. Celestine the *Praeteritorum Sedis Apostolicae Episcoporum Auctoritates de Gratia Dei*. The *Sacramentarium Leonianum* contains, no doubt, more than one oration from the pen of St. Leo, though as a whole it is not his work.

St. Peter Chrysologus[5] was a contemporary and friend of St. Leo. Born, c. 406, at Forocornelium (Imola), he became bishop of Ravenna, c. 433, and after an active and fruitful apostolate seems to have returned to his native town, where he died c. 450. Only one of his letters is extant, addressed in 448 to Eutyches.[6] This heretic, after his condemnation at the Council of Constantinople, had attempted to win the Bishop of Ravenna to his cause. Peter answered, referring him to the judgment of the pope, in whom St. Peter "teaches the truth of faith to those who seek it." We have in addition a collection of sermons by the Bishop of Ravenna (176 in number), made in the eighth century by one of his successors, Felix (707-717). The contents are not all genuine; it seems certain, on the other hand, that there exist elsewhere, [279] although current under other names, discourses which are truly the work of Peter Chrysologus. The

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[1] Duchesne.

[2] The edition comprises 173, but 40 of these are addressed to St. Leo.

[3] Almost completely translated into French by A. Régnier, *op. cit*., p. 57-69.

[4] *Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise* III, 681, note.

[5] Works in *P. L.*, LII. See Fl. von Stablewski, *Der hl. Kirchenvater Petrus von Ravenna Chrysologus*, Posen, 1871.

[6] Letter xxv among those ascribed to St. Leo (*P. L.*, liv, 739-744).

discourses collected by Felix are mostly very short, like those of St. Leo, and remarkable for variety of tone and style, abundance of illustration and antithesis, and the frequency of brisk, concise sentences which, with one word, depict a whole situation or drive home a truth. The purpose of most of these discources is to explain some text of S. Scripture; sermons 56-62 explain the Apostles Creed.

While St. Peter Chrysologus moved Ravenna by his preaching, another preacher was flourishing at Turin, *viz*.: MAXIMUS, bishop of Turin.[1] Little is known of his life; it is supposed that he became a bishop, c. 430. We know that he assisted at a synod held at Milan, in 451, and at a Roman synod, in 465. The acts of the latter mention his name directly after that of Pope Hilarius, whence the conclusion that he was the oldest of the bishops present and did not long survive.

Gennadius[2] attributes to St. Maximus some *tractatus* or homilies on different subjects, in particular, expositions on the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The current edition of his works, by Bruni, gives 239 sermons, homilies, or *tractatus*, and 23 explanations of the Gospels, but not one of passages taken from the Acts. It is, moreover, doubtful whether the explanations edited by Bruni really are the work of St. Maximus; certainly many among the other discourses do not belong to him, — so that we really have not, as yet, a good edition of his writings. It may be said, however, that the genuine sermons which we possess, resemble the sermons of St. Peter Chrysologus. They are characterized by a robust and energetic style and a power of penetration which has its principal source in the zeal of the orator.

A last writer to be mentioned here is ARNOBIUS THE YOUNGER,[3] so named to distinguish him from Arnobius, the teacher of Lactantius. We know little of him save that he was perhaps a native of Africa, and certainly a monk at Rome, towards the middle of the fifth century. After falling [280] into the errors of Pelagius, "he must have repudiated them little by little, more or less sincerely, according as he saw from the attitude of the Roman authorities the opportuneness for so doing."[4] The date of his death is unknown, but it is probable he did not long survive St. Leo.

The determination of the literary remains of Arnobius is something on which modern critics have not reached an agreement. According to the latest researches of Dom Morin, Arnobius wrote: (a) long *Commentaries on the Psalms*, mostly allegorical in character, and composed apparently between 432 and 439.[5] (b) the famous *Praedestinatus*, (which belongs to the same period), a crafty refutation of St. Augustine and his doctrine on grace, with arguments often borrowed from Julian of Eclanum;[6] (c) the *Conflictus Arnobii Catholici cum Serapione Aegyptio*, written c. 454-460,[7] an account of a fictitious discussion in which Sabellianism, Arianism, Pelagianism, and especially Monophysitism, are successively refuted; (d) the *Liber ad Gregoriam in Palatio Constitutam*, on patience and the struggle against vice, attributed by Isidore of Seville to St. Chrysostom;[8] and (e) probably also the *Expositiunculae in Evangelium*, detached notes on different passages in St. John, St. Matthew, and St. Luke.[9]

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, LVII; *The Journal of Theological Studies*, January and April 1915 (xvi); April and July 1916 (xvii). See FERRERI, *S. Massimo Vescovo di Torino*, Turin, 1858.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 40.

[3] Works in *P. L.*, LIII. See D. G. MORIN, *Études, Textes, Découvertes*, I, *Arnobe le Jeune*, p. 309 ff., 340 ff. H. KAYSER, *Die Schriften des sogenannten Arnobius junior*, Gütersloh, 1912.

[4] Dom Morin.

[5] *P. L.*, LIII, 327-570.

[6] *P. L.*, LIII, 587-672. See H. VON SCHUBERT, *Der sogen. Praedestinatus*, Leipzig, 1903 (*T. U.*, xxiv).

[7] *P. L.*, LIII, 239-322.

[8] Edited by D. MORIN, *Op. cit.*, p. 383-439.

[9] Re-edited in more complete form by D. MORIN, *Analecta Maredsolana*, III, 3, p. 129-151, Maredsous, 1903. Cf. *Revue Bénédictine*, xx (1903), 64-76.

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THIRD PERIOD

DECLINE AND END OF PATRISTIC LITERATURE (461-750)

The period which we now enter (461-750) witnessed a great decline of Christian literature. The chief cause of this decline, no doubt, is the inferiority of the writers themselves; but it was also due in great measure to the turmoil and incessant revolution which the invasion of the barbarians brought to the Empire. Whilst Greek civilization in the East was stripped of immense territories by the Persians and the Mohammedans, the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Herules, Franks, Lombards, and Vandals established their domination throughout the West and even seized Rome. Controversy, too, was wearing out, or at least had shifted its ground from the great Trinitarian and Christological discussions to minor debates on Monothelitism and image worship, and the bald assertions of the Pelagians had given place to the mitigated statements of the Semi-Pelagians. Dried up and exhausted seems to be the fount from which had sprung so many original and masterful productions.

This period is not, however, totally destitute of great men. Here and there writers emerge from the mass who can rightly claim honorable places among the greatest. Pseudo-Dionysius, Severus the Monophysite, Leontius of Byzantium, St. Maximus, St. John of Damascus, and St. Fulgentius are great theologians; St. Germanus of Constantinople and St. Caesarius of Aries are eloquent homilists; Evagrius measures up to the historical tradition of Eusebius; Gregory of Tours, although not always critical, is full of charm. Ascetical literature also finds worthy representatives in St. John Climacus and St. Gregory the Great, and epistolary literature is continued in the letters of the latter. In the dominion of liturgical poetry Romanos Melodus and other Greek writers [282] even surpass the poets of former ages. These are, however, only a few happy exceptions which cannot alter the general impression of decadence.

The period we have reached is characterized mainly by the compilation of *Catenae* — commentaries made up of juxtaposed citations — and *Florilegia* of theological texts, as well as by oratorical plagiarisms and dry chronicles. In the Greek Church there was no awakening from this great lethargy: all theological activity seems to have fallen into an eternal sleep. In the Latin Church the ruin was less complete. At least the seeds of former literary culture, sacred and profane, are not entirely lost; but, preserved in the compilations of Boethius, Cassiodorius, and St. Isidore of Seville, they promise a new spring.

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SECTION I

GREEK WRITERS[1]

1. HERETICAL WRITERS — SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH

Four heresies troubled the peace of the Greek Church in the period we are now studying, — Nestorianism, Monophysitism, Monothelitism, and the Iconoclastic error. The first of these was banished to Edessa (457) and then chased from the Roman Empire (489), so that it is represented only by a few Syriac writers. Photius[2] mentions only one Nestorian priest of Antioch, Basil of Cilicia (first half of the fourth century), who wrote a history in 3 books, covering the period from the reign of Marcian (450) down to the end of the reign of Justin (527), and a work of invectives and controversy in 16 books against John of Scythopolis:[3] all have been lost. On the other hand, the first opponents of images do not seem to have written anything. We have to consider here, therefore, only the Greek *Monophysitic* and *Monothelite* authors.

Among the Monophysites we must carefully distinguish the *Eutychian* party, which taught a kind of fusion in one nature of the divine and human elements that make up the person of Christ, and the *Monophysite* party proper, which, while teaching the real distinction of these two elements even after their union, refused to speak of "two natures," thereby rejecting the terminology and decisions of the Council of Chalcedon.

Eutychianism had its origin in the preaching of Eutyches, who, at the Council of Constantinople (448) declared that he did not regard the humanity of Jesus Christ as consubstantial with ours. Eutyches seems to have written nothing more than a few letters. Later on, towards 515-519, one of [284] his followers, Sergius Grammaticus, held a discussion by correspondence with Severus of Antioch, the records of which are still extant. In the end, Sergius confessed himself beaten.[4] On the other hand, Severus met with stubborn resistance from another Monophysite of Eutychian tendencies, *viz*., Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus, leader of the *Aphthartodocetae* or *Incorrupticolae,* who held the body of Christ to be incorruptible and immutable in its elements even during His mortal life. This controversy began before 528. Julian's works have been preserved chiefly in Syriac translations. They comprise letters, one *tome* of Patristic discussions, *Additions*, one *Apology*, and a few treatises, particularly those against the Eutychianists, Manichseans, etc. A commentary on Job, preserved in Greek, has been published completely only in a Latin translation.[5]

The Eutychian party, however, produced only the smallest number of the opponents of the Council of Chalcedon. The majority was to be found among the Monophysitic party, which had the more intelligent men. Among the leaders who made this party famous must be mentioned: (1) Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril in the see of Alexandria, who was deposed in 451 and died in exile in 454. We are acquainted only with a few of his complete letters, with some fragments, and perhaps 6 anathematisms against the Council of Chalcedon;[6] (2) his Monophysite successor, Timothy Aelurus (d. c. 477), the author of 2 polemical works against the same Council and the Tome of St. Leo, of some letters, and of a *Book of Accounts*, sketching

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[1] See J. PARGOIRE, *L'Église Byzantine de 527 à 847*, Paris 1905.

[2] *Cod.*, 42 and 107.

[3] Photius thinks he was also the author of a work *Against Nestorius*, refuted by John of Scythopolis; this opinion, however, is not probable, since the treatise mentioned favors monophysitism.

[4] See J. LEBON, *Le Monophysisme Sévérien*, Louvain, 1909, p. 163 ff.; 538 ff.

[5] See J. LEBON, *Op. cit*., p. 173 ff. and the references he gives. Edition of Origen by GÉNÉBRARD, Paris, 1574. H. USENER, *Rhein. Museum*, N. F., LV (1900), 321-340.

[6] See J. LEBON, *Op. cit*., p. 84 ff.

the controversies of his time;[1] (3) a monk named Cyrus, mentioned by Gennadius,[2] who wrote a work against Nestorius, and (4) especially Severus, patriarch of Antioch.

Severus of Antioch[3] was born at Sozopolis in Pisidia, [285] of pagan parents, and studied at Alexandria and Beyrouth before he was baptized at Tripoli, in 488. He became a monk at the Majuma, near Gaza, and was ordained to the priesthood, after which he made a first sojourn at Constantinople and was raised by the Monophysites to the see of Antioch, in 512. After the triumph of orthodoxy, under the Emperor Justin, he was forced to withdraw to Egypt, in 518, but was recalled to Constantinople by Justinian in 534-535, and remained there one or two years. He was again obliged to leave the imperial city when the Chalcedonian reaction set in, and died at Xoïs, south of Alexandria, February 8, 538.

Severus was a harsh and domineering man, a bold and intriguing sectarian. Endowed with a powerful and flexible mind, he was the ablest theologian and the best-balanced and most productive writer of his party. As he pretended to be the faithful disciple of St. Cyril of Alexandria, he displayed no less ardor in righting against Eutychianism and the errors of Julian of Halicarnassus, which he thought led to it, than in attacking the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. His works were translated into Syriac at an early date, but only an insignificant portion of them has been published. We are acquainted with some of his letters, homilies, hymns, and controversial writings; 2 treatises against Nephalius; another entitled *Cyril or Philalctes* (written 509-511); an Apology for Philaletes (510-512) a work against John the Grammarian (c. 519), his most important writing; a refutation of two works of Julian of Halicarnassus (before 528), etc. His untiring pen is ever gathering arguments and he is subtle enough to escape defeat, even when his opponents believe they have him cornered.

From Monophysitism sprang also the sect of the *Agnoetae*, whose founder, or at least chief champion, was a deacon of Alexandria and a follower of Severus, named Themistius (c. 540). Photius[4] was acquainted with an *Apology* written by Themistius in defence of his error and a treatise against John Philoponus.

John Philoponus, an Alexandrine grammarian of the [286] sixth century, is the principal representative of those Monophysites who, on account of their abuse of terminology, incurred the reproach of being Tritheists. We possess a Trinitarian and Christological work of his, entitled *The Arbiter*, preserved partially in Greek[5] and entirely in Syriac; some treatises *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum*;[6] a commentary *De Opificio Mundi*;[7] and a *Libellus de Paschate*.[8] A treatise *De Resurrectione* has been lost.

Stephen Gobaros (c. 600) also belonged to the Tritheistic party. Photius[9] has analyzed a strange compilation of his, a series of contradictory statements on the same subject which reminds us of the "*Sic et non*" of Abélard.

The authors so far mentioned are all theologians; yet the Greek Monophysites also made a weapon of history against their orthodox opponents.

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[1] See J. Lebon, *Op. cit.*, p. 93 ff., and his article *La Christologie de Timothée Ælure* in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, ix (1908), 677 ff.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 81.

[3] There is no complete collection of his works extant. L. W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus*, London, 1902-1904. Homilies and hymns in *Patrologia Orientalis*, iv, vi-viii, xii, xiv. Fragments and citations in *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 1 and 2. *Doctrina Patrum* (edit. Diekamp), etc. See J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme Sévérien*, p. 118 ff. M. Peisker, *Severus von Antiochien*, Halle, 1903; and the works on Leontius of Byzantium.

[4] *Cod.*, 108.

[5] See St. John Damascene, *De Haeresibus*, 83.

[6] Edit. H. Rabe, Leipzig, 1899.

[7] Edit. G. Reichardt, Leipzig, 1897.

[8] Edit. C. Walter, Jena, 1899.

[9] *Cod.*, 232.

The first of their historians, in chronological order as well as in the order of importance, is Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene in Lesbos, surnamed Rhetor. Shortly after 491, while still a layman, he wrote a valuable *History* of the events which occurred between 450 and 491. Whilst the original Greek text is lost, a recension or translation into Syriac has been found as a part of a historical compilation of the sixth century, in 12 books, of which it forms Books 3-6. We have from Zacharias a dialogue in Greek *On the Creation of the World*, a fragment of a work against the Manichseans, a *Life of the Hermit Isaias* (d. 488), and a *Life of Severus of Antioch*, the latter two preserved in Syriac translations. His lives of Peter the Iberian and Theodore of Antinoë are lost.[1]

Shortly after Zacharias (c. 515), John Rufus, bishop of Majuma, composed his *Plerophoriae*,[2] still preserved in a Syriac translation. They do not deserve the name of [287] history, as they relate only a series of visions, predictions, and miraculous events, all directed against the Council of Chalcedon. It is a work of low polemics.

Finally, c. 700, John Nikiotes wrote, from the Monophysitic point of view, a chronicle beginning with the origin of the world and important for what it relates of the seventh century of our era. It has been preserved in an Ethiopic translation. It is doubtful whether the original text was Greek or Coptic.[3]

Monothelite literature is far less rich than Monophysitic, both in works and in writers. Its principal leaders, Sergius of Constantinople (610-638), Cyrus of Phasis, later of Alexandria (631-641), Pyrrhus (638-641) and Paul of Constantinople (641-645), wrote hardly anything but letters, several of which, however, *e.g.*, that of Sergius to Pope Honorius, have become famous. They are to be found in the collections of the councils. The most worthy writer of the sect seems to have been Theodore, bishop of Pharan, who was condemned at a Lateran Council, in 649. At the third session of this Council several extracts of his works were read, notably from, his treatise *De Operationibus Christi*, addressed to Sergius of Arsinoe, a commentary on various passages from the Fathers, and a letter to Paul. Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, condemned at the Council of Constantinople, in 681, is the author of a *Profession of Faith* presented to the Council.

2. Dionysius, the Pseudo-Areopagite[4]

Among the authorities often appealed to in Monophysitic, and especially in Monothelite strifes, are the writings of an author who calls himself Dionysius and who evidently desires to pass for his saintly namesake Areopagita, the disciple of St. Paul and first bishop of Athens. We still possess his writings; they comprise 4 treatises and 10 letters.

The 4 treatises are all dedicated by the author to his co-presbyter (συμπρεσβύτερος) Timotheus. The work *On the Celestial Hierarchy* (Περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας), in 15 chapters, [288] deals with the angels, their functions, names, and hierarchical gradations. Here, for the first time, we find the angels divided into three classes of three choirs each. They are, in descending order, Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones, who serve God exclusively; Dominations, Powers, and Virtues, to whom is entrusted the care of the world in general; and Principalities, Archangels, and Angels, whose particular duty it is to watch over men.

The second treatise, *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας), in 7 chapters, shows that the hierarchy in the Church is modelled on the hierarchy of heaven, and exercises similar functions. The author describes the rites of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Confirmation, the different

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[1] Translations of the *History* by K. Ahrens and G. Krüger, *Die sogen. Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, Leipzig, 1899, and by Hamilton and Brooks, London, 1899. The *Life of Severus* is to be found in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, II (Kugener); the *Life of Isaias* in *Corpus Script. Oriental., Script., Syri.*, 3rd series, vol. xxv, Paris, 1907 (Brooks). Greek texts in *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1011-1144, and Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, I, 67-70.

[2] Edit. F. Nau, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII.

[3] Edit. H. Zotenberg, in *Extrait des Notices des Manuscrits*, XXIV, I, Paris, 1883.

[4] Works in *P. G.*, III, IV. French transl. by Darboy, 1845, and Dulac, 1865. The leading works are those of J. Stiglmayr, in numerous articles, 1895-1900, and of H. Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, Mayence, 1900.

ordinations (bishops, priests, and deacons), and the solemn monastic profession. Then follow some indications of the ceremonies at funerals and at the baptism of little children. It is in this work that later writers have thought they discerned the three degrees of spiritual perfection, namely the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive ways.

The third treatise, *On the Divine Names* (Περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων), explains in 13 chapters the names given to God in Sacred Scripture, which make known to us His infinite perfections.

Finally, the fourth treatise, *On Mystical Theology* (Περὶ τῆς μυστικῆς θεολογίας), in 5 chapters, treats of God as the superintelligible and ineffable Being, to whom we may unite ourselves, even in this life, by an intimate and more or less ecstatic union.

The first 4 of the letters are addressed to the Therapeuta" (monk) Caius, the fifth to the "Liturgus" (deacon) Dorotheus, on the divine obscurity; the sixth to the priest Sosipater; the seventh to the "Hierarch" (bishop) Polycarp; the eighth to the "Therapeuta" Demophilus; the ninth to the "Hierarch" Titus; the tenth "To John the Theologian, apostle and evangelist, exiled to the isle of Patmos." There are extant 3 letters to Allophanes, Timothy, and Titus, in Latin, which have been falsely attributed to the Pseudo-Areopagite.

These writings made their first public appearance at a conference that took place at Constantinople in 533, between Catholics and Severians, or moderate Monophysites. Cited by the Severians as the work of Dionysius the Areopagite, [289] they were promptly rejected by the Catholics as spurious. In the following century, however, the Catholics, owing particularly to the influence of Maximus Confessor, who wrote commentaries on them, began to concede the authenticity of these writings, and they were accepted as genuine throughout the Middle Ages. Few works of this time enjoyed an equal prestige and authority among theologians.

It is now no longer doubtful that the alleged writings of the Areopagite are the work of a forger. The author is certainly not, as he claims to be, a contemporary of the Apostles, of Titus, Timothy, and Polycarp; he knew neither the Blessed Virgin nor St. John. His works suppose monachism in a flourishing and well-organized condition; he has read and exploited the writings of the Neo-Platonist Proclus (411-485) and cites notably his treatise *De Malorum Subsistentia*; he speaks of the practice of singing the *Credo* at Mass, which was introduced by the Monophysites at Antioch in 476, and which Catholics adopted after them. As his writings are cited by Severus of Antioch, at the latest in 533, it follows that he must have written towards the end of the fifth or in the first years of the sixth century. He could not have written before this.

Who, then, was this mysterious author? Attempts to identify him have so far proved unsuccessful. The mere fact that he was thrust to the front by the Monophysites and took care, in speaking of Christ, to avoid the terms μία φύσις and δύο φύσεις (*one* or *two natures*), whilst teaching the existence of "a new theandric operation," make us suspect that he was a supporter of the *Henoticon*, promulgated in 482, — a Monophysite politician but slightly interested in the controversies of his time. He seems to have written in Syria rather than in Egypt.

The author was certainly a philosopher and lacked neither power nor originality. The chief interest of his work lies in the attempt to introduce Neo-Platonist thoughts and methods into Christian theology and "to give a rigorous exposition of mystical theology and to weld it tight to ecclesiastical theology, of which, in his system, it seems to be only a higher interpretation." His style is usually affected and obscure, purposely crowded with newly coined words and with expressions borrowed from the pagan mysteries. To him it seemed that the resultant artificial obscurity was well suited to the loftiness of the teachings he wished to instil. [290]

The Pseudo-Areopagite often refers in his works to a certain Hierotheus as his master, and attributes to him several works. We do not know what to think of this. There exists a Syriac *Book of Hierotheus on the Hidden Mysteries of the Divinity*, which is ascribed to a pantheistic monk, Bar Sudaïli (c. 500), but Bar Sudaïli may himself have taken the name Hierotheus from the works of Dionysius.

3. The Opponents of Monophysitism — Leontius of Byzantium

In the first paragraph of this section we briefly enumerated the Greek writers who attacked the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. We will now speak of those who defended them. These writers made their appearance especially in the beginning of the sixth century. Several of them, it is true, made excessive concessions to their opponents; on the whole, however, their answers were victorious and their explanations of the dogmatic problem were ratified by the theology of a later age.

The principal writers of this group are:

(1) The Palestinian monk Nephalius, who, before the year 508, composed a discourse against Severus of Antioch and an apology for the Council of Chalcedon;[1]

(2) Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople (496-511), author of a *Florilegium Patristicum* against Monophysitism;[2]

(3) John the Grammarian, cited sometimes as bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, who wrote a criticism of the *Philaletcs of Severus* (c. 510) and an *Apology* for the Council of Chalcedon (c. 515-520), which Severus answered in his treatise *Contra Grammaticum*;[3]

(4) John of Scythopolis, author of another long apology for the Council of Chalcedon (c. 515-520) and later of a work against Severus cited by the sixth general Council, A. D. 680;[4]

(5) John Maxentius, a monk, mouthpiece of the so-called "Scythian Monks" and an opponent of Nestorianism, [291] Monophysitism, and Pelagianism, from whom we have an *Epistola ad Legatos Sedis Apostolicae* (519), addressed to the legates of Pope Hormisdas in answer to the letter of the Pope (520); a few *Dialogues* against the Nestorians, a *Treatise against the Acephali* (Monophysites), and a few minor writings;[5]

(6) Jobius (first half of the sixth century), also a monk, of whom Photius[6] mentions a treatise against Severus and analyzes at length a *Commentary on the Incarnation*;[7]

(7) A monk named Eustathius, the writer of a remarkable letter against Severus, *On the Two Natures*.[8]

Then there are three writers who may be looked upon as the precursors and masters of Leontius of Byzantium and who, like him, in their time were held in great esteem. They were:

(a) Heraclian, bishop of Chalcedon (beginning of the sixth century), author of a treatise against Sotericus, Eutychian bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and of a refutation of Manichaeism in 20 books, praised by Photius.[9]

(b) Ephraem, patriarch of Antioch (527-545), one of the most highly esteemed men of his time.[10] He had been a count in the East and, like St. Ambrose, was raised to the episcopal dignity. Photius[11] mentions

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1 See Lebon, *Le Monoph. Sévérien*, p. 119 ff.
2 Lebon, *ibid.*, p. 126.
3 Lebon, *ibid.*, p. 128-163.
4 Lebon, *ibid.*, p. 149 ff. Cf. F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz*, p. 269 ff., note.
5 *P. G.*, LXXXVI, I, 73-158.
6 *Cod.*, 222.
7 See *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 3313-3320.
8 *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 1, 901-942.
9 *Cod.*, 85. See J. P. Junglas, *Leontius von Byzanz*, p. 56, 57.
10 *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 2103 ff. See Junglas. *Op. cit.*, p. 49 ff.
11 *Cod.*, 228.

several of his works, three of which he possessed, though he analyzed only two. The first[1] was a collection of dogmatic letters, followed by 8 discourses for different liturgical feasts or circumstances; the second[2] contained a treatise in 4 books, all except the second having for their object the vindication of Chalcedonian orthodoxy and the refutation of Severus.

Ephraem certainly did not compose these writings before becoming bishop of Antioch, which happened in 527; yet he must have done so shortly after this date, for already about the year 537 he was regarded as one of the most energetic defenders of the faith.

(c) The author of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* (edited by [292] Mai),[3] who is believed to be identical with Pamphilus of Jerusalem, who was a friend of Cosmas Indicopleustes. This work was written before the year 540 and bears a striking resemblance in expression and ideas to the writings of Leontius.

Leontius of Byzantium[4] was born of a noble family apparently c. 485, probably at Byzantium. At an early age he embraced the monastic life. At one time he fell, or nearly fell, into Nestorianism; but new teachers, whom he met during his travels, brought him back to orthodoxy. It is thought that he was one of the four Scythian monks who, in 519, argued before the delegates of Hormisdas in support of the proposition that "one of the Trinity had suffered in the flesh," and later appeared before the Pope himself in Rome. On his return to the East, he withdrew to the New Laura, near Jerusalem, took part in the conference at Constantinople between the Severiani and the Catholics, in 533, and after another residence in his "Laura," returned in 538 to the capital, where he died, c. 543.

Cardinal Mai, to whom we owe, in great part, the most ancient edition of the works of Leontius, considers him the foremost theologian of his epoch: "*in theologica scientia aevo suo facile princeps*." This praise is perhaps exaggerated, for it seems that Ephraem of Antioch was not inferior to him and enjoyed during his lifetime a greater authority than he. The judgment of Cardinal Mai also supposes the authenticity of certain writings which recent critics reject. Yet, having made these reservations, we must recognize in the Byzantine monk an acute, a precise and forceful writer, capable of throwing light on questions and coining appropriate formulas. He profited much by the researches of those who went before him and brought them up to date. The special purpose of all his work was to show the fundamental harmony existing between the definitions of Ephesus and those of Chalcedon, and how we may well admit at the same time two natures and one person in Jesus Christ, adhere to the Chalcedonian Creed without being a Nestorian, and agree with St. Cyril without being a Monophysite. These [293] opportune explanations helped a great deal to clear up the persistent misunderstanding between Catholics, Nestorians, and Severians. Though they did not succeed completely, they at least added to the theology of the Incarnation new aspects and supplied a basis for real progress.

We have 3 authentic works of Leontius of Byzantium: (1) *Three books against the Nestorians and the Eutychians*,[5] the first directed against both heresies at once; the second against the Monophysites, and especially against the Aphthartodocetae; the third against the Nestorians, in particular Theodore of Mopsuestia, — more historical than polemical in character; (2) a *Refutation of the Arguments of Severus*;[6] and (3) *Thirty Theses against Severus*.[7] These works were written between 536 and 543.

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[1] *Cod.*, 228.

[2] *Cod.*, 229.

[3] *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, Romae, 1844, II, 295-662; see JUNGLAS, *Op. cit.*, p. 57 ff.

[4] Works in *P. G.*, LXXXVI, i and 2. See *Leontius von Byzans* by F. LOOFS (Leipzig, 1887), and by J. P. JUNGLAS (Paderborn, 1908). Also V. ERMONI, *De Leontio Bysantino*, Paris, 1895.

[5] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 1, 1267-1396.

[6] *Ibid.*, 2, 1915-1946.

[7] *Ibid.*, 2, 1901-1916.

Three other writings — *De Sectis*,[1] *Adversus Nestorianos*,[2] and *Contra Monophysitas*[3] — are, in Loofs' opinion subsequently elaborated fragments of another great work of Leontius, entitled *Scholia*, now partially lost, whilst, in the opinion of other equally learned critics, these so-called Scholia never existed.[4]

A contemporary of Leontius, who probably came under his theological influence, was the Emperor Justinian (527- 565).[5] Justinian was a great legislator; it was his wish to become a theologian also, but he did little more than reproduce the doctrines and formulas current in his time. Among the theological works which bear his name the principal are: a letter to Menas of Constantinople, issued in 536, or *Constitution against Anthimus, Severus, Peter and Zoaras*; the *Tractatus contra Monophysitas*, published in 542 or 543; an *Edict* (λόγος) *against Origen*, in 543, [294] followed in 553 by a memorial to the Sixth General Council on the same subject;[6] a long edict (of which only a few chapters remain) against the Three Chapters, in 543 or 544, a theme which he resumed in the *Confession of Faith* (Ὁμολογία πίστεως) of 551, in an imperial edict addressed to the fifth general council, May 5, 553 (Τύπος πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον), and in an answer to the partisans of the Three Chapters (Πρὸς τινας γράψαντας κτλ.), perhaps before the council. Evagrius[7] relates that towards the end of his life Justinian fell into the error of the Aphthartodocetae and issued an edict prescribing its general acceptance. This document has perished.

On the publication of this edict the Emperor met with sharp opposition on the part of Anastasius I,[8] patriarch of Antioch (559-599), who was forced to spend a great part of his episcopate (570-593) in exile, to which he had been condemned by Justin II. It was mainly during his exile that he wrote letters, discourses, and a treatise against the Tritheist John Philoponus, which are in great part lost. There are extant, however, 5 dogmatic discourses on the Trinity and the Incarnation — *De Nostris Rectis Dogmatibus … Orationes Quinque* — in Latin, 4 sermons of doubtful authenticity, a *Compendiaria Orthodoxae Fidei Explicatio*, and some fragments.

It was chiefly owing to the intervention of Gregory the Great that the Emperor Maurice permitted Anastasius to return to his see in 593. This pope was likewise the correspondent and friend of Eulogius, the Catholic patriarch of Alexandria (580-607).[9] To-day there remain of his works only a sermon for Palm Sunday and a few fragments — one of which is very important — from a work *On the Holy Trinity and the Divine Incarnation*. From other sources we know he was a formidable opponent of the various Monophysitic factions which troubled the peace of the Church of Alexandria. Photius knew and analyzed the following work of Eulogius: (1) 6 books *Against the* [295] *Novatians concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline*;[10] (2) a work in 2 books against Timothy and Severus, containing a defence of the "Epistola Dogmatica" of Leo the Great to Flavian;[11] (3) a work against Theodosius (of Alexandria) and Severus in

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1, 1193-1268.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1, 1399-1768.

[3] *Ibid.*, 2, 1769-1902.

[4] Neither is the *Adversus Fraudes Apollinaristarum* (2, 1947-1976) the work of Leontius, but of an anonymous writer, who lived some years before him. This is a remarkable treatise and the first in which are denounced the forgeries of the Apollinarists, who sought to pass off the writings of their sect under the names of venerated masters (Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Julius, etc.).

[5] Theological works in *P. G.*, LXXXVI, i, 945-1152. See A. Knecht, *Die Religionspolitik Kaiser Justinians I*, Würzburg, 1896. G. Glaizolle, *Justinien, son Rôle Théologique dans les Controverses*, Lyons, 1905.

[6] To these same anti-Origenistic strifes of the sixth century belongs a memoir of Theodore, bishop of Scythopolis, and a treatise attributed to St. Barsanuphius, both written about the middle of the sixth century (*P. G.*, LXXXVI, I, 231-236 and 891-902).

[7] *H. E.*, iv, 39-41 Evagrius:Evagrius, HE 4.39-41]].

[8] Works in *P. G.*, LXXXIX.

[9] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 2913-2964 and O. Bardenhewer, *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, LXXVIII (1896), 353-401.

[10] *Cod.*, 182, 208, 280.

[11] *Cod.*, 225.

defence of the same "Epistola";[1] (4) a philippic against Theodosians and Gaianites concerning their dissensions;[2] and (5) 11 treatises (λόγοι), mostly dogmatico-polemical in character, on the Trinity and the Incarnation.[3] Photius does not think much of the style of Eulogius and finds it incorrect, yet he confesses that he is on the whole an author both pleasant and instructive.

The episcopacy of Eulogius brings us to the beginning of the seventh century. It is here that we meet such writers as (1) the monk Theodore of Raithu,[4] author of a treatise on the Incarnation, directed against the various heresies which attacked this mystery, and of a dissertation *De Terminis Philosophicis*, on the meaning of the words used to define it, and also, according to Junglas, of a treatise *De Sectis*, already mentioned in connection with Leontius of Byzantium; (2) Eusebius, bishop of Thessalonica, 2 refutations of whom were read by Photius, the second in 10 books, addressed to a certain monk named Andrew,[5] who had been misled by the Aphthartodocetae; (3) the priest Timothy of Constantinople, to whom we owe a short treatise *On the Reconciliation of Heretics*, full of information on the errors of the time.[6]

We will close the list of the Greek opponents of Monophysitism with the name of Anastasius Sinaita (630-700).[7] Anastasius, or "the new Moses," as he was afterwards called, was abbot of a monastery on Mount Sinai. He is one of the great characters of this period of decadence. Unfortunately, very little is known of his life, and his literary productions have not yet been critically or completely sifted. Current under his name are: (a) *The Guide* (Ὁδηγός), a [296] large work written in 683-688 against the Monophysites of both the Severian and Gaianite sects; (b) a book of *Questions and Answers* on 154 theological points (some of them certainly spurious); and (c) *Anagogical* (*or Spiritual*) *Considerations on the Hexaëmeron*, in 12 books. To these three great works we must add a few minor writings, *viz*., a discourse *On Holy Communion*, 3 treatises on the creation of man after the image of God, a compendious account of the Christian faith, etc. Critics are also inclined to concede him the important florilegium entitled *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*,[8] one of our most valuable sources for the history of the theology of this period.

4. The Opponents of Monothelitism — St. Maximus Confessor

Even before the political action of Heraclius had given official standing to the Monothelite heresy, in 619, there had been debates in both the Monophysite and orthodox camps about the operations and the will of Christ. Several of the opponents of Monophysitism already mentioned, namely, John of Scythopolis, Eustathius the monk, Ephraem of Antioch, Leontius of Byzantium, and the patriarch Eulogius in particular, may also be counted among the opponents of Monothelitism. On the other hand, even after this error was condemned at the Council of 680, it continued to be the object of attacks by theologians of a later period, and this circumstance allows us to include among those who refuted it Anastasius Sinaita and St. John of Damascus. It was during the period 620-680, however, that the strife was most intense and that the chief champions of orthodoxy against the new sect are found. The two principal ones are Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and St. Maximus Confessor.

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[1] *Cod*., 226.

[2] *Cod*., 227.

[3] *Cod*., 230.

[4] *P. G*., XCI, 1479 ff. See Junglas, *Leontius von Byz*., p. 15 ff.

[5] *Cod*., 162.

[6] *P. G*., LXXXVI, 1, 11-68.

[7] Works in *P. G*., LXXXIX; Pitra, *Iuris Ecclesiast. Graecorum Hist. et Monum*., II Romae, 1868, 257-275. See I. B. Kumpfmueller, *De Anastasio Sinaita*, Wirceburgi, 1865.

[8] Edit. F. Diekamp, Münster, 1907.

Sophronius[1] was a native of Damascus. He became a monk c. 580 and seems to have lived first in Palestine with the famous John Moschus, whose intimate friend he was, and whose work, the *Pratum Spirituals*, he later published. Together these two friends visited Egypt and its hermits, the [297] islands of the Mediterranean, and Rome, where Moschus died. On his return to Palestine, c. 620, Sophronius was devoting his leisure moments to works of hagiography and liturgy, when the Monothelite intrigues broke out. Immediately he endeavored to oppose them and to deter Cyrus of Alexandria and Sergius of Constantinople from their projects. His efforts were fruitless; but when, in 634, he was raised to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, Sophronius ceased to implore, — he judged and condemned. Unfortunately, his episcopate lasted but a few years. Already well advanced in age, he died in 638, after witnessing the capture of the Holy City by the Arabs.

Sophronius was a voluminous and versatile writer. We have placed him among the theologians; he might as well be placed among the hagiographers or poets. His works, written for the most part in a turgid and prolix style, comprise doctrinal writings, discourses, disciplinary and historical works and poems. To the first category belong his Synodal or Intronistic Letter of 634, in defence of Dyothelitism, and a large patristic work in 2 books (lost) containing "*Testimonia antiquorum*" in defence of the two wills in Christ. We possess about 12 of his discourses on Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, and Baptism. In the third category we find a treatise *On the Confession of Sins*, a fragment *On the Baptism of the Apostles*, a long *Panegyric of SS. Syrus and John* (*Laudes in SS. Cyrum et Ioannem*), martyrs under Diocletian; an account of their miracles (*Eorumdem Miracula*) and a Life of St. Mary, the Egyptian. Finally, among his poetical works we must mention a collection of 23 anacreontic odes (ανακρεόντεια) in honor of the feasts of the Church, a few popular liturgical hymns (ἰδιόμελα), intended for chanting; one *Troparium*, and two epitaphs.

While Sophronius was at Alexandria, begging the patriarch Cyrus to renounce his project of uniting with the Monophysites, he was accompanied by another monk, who shared his feelings and who was to defend the faith against the Monothelites more effectively and for a longer period than he. This monk was St. Maximus Confessor.[2] Maximus [298] was born, c. 580, at Constantinople, of pious parents, and was first secretary and adviser of the Emperor Heraclius. When fifty years of age, he retired to the monastery of Chrysopolis, now Scutari, opposite Byzantium, where he soon became abbot. In 633 we find him with Sophronius at Alexandria. In 640 he began his task as defender of the faith. By his exhortations and teachings he strengthened the bishops of Africa; held, with Pyrrhus, Monothelite patriarch of Constantinople, the famous debate of 645, in which he won a signal victory; and, c. 646 or 647, went to Rome, where he took an important part in the Council of 649 and devoted the peace he there enjoyed to the composition of his works.

This peace lasted until 653. Then the Emperor Constans II had him seized and brought to Constantinople. On his refusal to accept the *Typus* which the Pope had rejected, Maximus was condemned to exile in 655, and, in 662, to mutilation and exile to Lazica on the shores of the Black Sea. Here he died, August 13, 662. With him suffered two of his disciples, Anastasius the Apocrisiarius (envoy) and Anastasius the Monk. The acts of their trial and martyrdom are extant.

Barring St. John of Damascus, Maximus is the last great theologian of the Greek Church. Besides the profane sciences he had acquired considerable ecclesiastical learning by reading the Fathers of the fourth century (St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Gregory of Nyssa) and the writers closer to his period (Leontius of Byzantium, Anastasius of Antioch, etc.), but especially by meditating on the writings of the Pseudo-

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[1] Works in *P. G.*, LXXXVII, 3, 3147-4014. See S. Vailhé in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, VII (1902), 360-385; VIII (1903), 356-387. Ed. Bouvy, *Poètes et Mélodes*, Nimes, 1886, pp. 169-182.

[2] Works in *P. G.*, XC, XCI. The commentary on Pseudo-Areopagita is in *P. G.*, IV. The "*Computus*" is to be found among the works of Eusebius of Caesarea, *P. G.*, XIX, 1217-1280. The *Chronologia Succincta*, missing in Migne, has been edited by Bratke in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XIII (1892), 382-384. See H. Straubinger, *Die Christologic des hl. Maximus Confessor*, Bonn, 1906.

Dionysius, whose authority in the Church he contributed not a little to establish. He is a mystic, like the Pseudo-Areopagite, but at the same time a metaphysician and an ascetic. By the study of Aristotelian philosophy he had acquired such a clean-cut precision of thought as will be sought for in vain in the writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite. We regret that he did not put forth his doctrines and his views in a great synthetic work; they are dispersed here and there in a multitude of writings in the form of sentences or commentaries, but may be easily found, for the author often explains and repeats himself on the same subject. [299]

The writings of St. Maximus may be listed under 6 categories:

1. Exegetical Writings, in which the Saint comments, more or less literally, on Scriptural texts — *Quaestiones ad Thalassium, Quaestiones et Responsioncs, Expositio in Psalmum LIX, Orationis Dominicae Brevis Expositio, Ad Theopemptum Scholasticum*.

2. Commentaries of Mystical Theology: *Scholia in Opera S. Dionysii Areopagitae, De Variis Difficilibus Locis SS. Dionysii et Gregorii Theologi* (Gregory of Nazianzus), *Ambigua in Gregorium Theologum*.

3. Polemico-Dogmatic Treatises: a series of short treatises under the heading *Opuscula Theologica et Polemica*, most of which are anti-Monophysitic and anti-Monothelite; the *Disputation with Pyrrhus*; a treatise *De Anima*.[1]

4. Ascetico-Moral Writings: the *Liber Asceticus*, the principal one; 4 collections of sentences, "Capita" — *Capita de Caritate*, *Capita Alia*, *Capita Theologica et Oeconomica* and *Diversa Capita Theologica et Oeconomica*, — the contents of the last 2 collections being at once mystical and ascetical in character, as their titles indicate. A fifth collection, which bears the name of *Loci Communes*, and comprises extracts from Scripture, the Fathers, and even profane writers, is certainly not, or at least not all, from the pen of St. Maximus.

5. Disciplinary and Liturgical Works: a *Mystagogia*, which explains the symbolic and mystical meaning of the Church and her liturgical ceremonies; 3 *hymns*, a *Computus Ecclesiasticus*, to which may be added a *Chronologia Succincta Vitae Christi*, really a summary of a larger work.

6. Letters (45 in number), several of which are veritable theological treatises.

All these writings reveal Maximus as a man of an acute and subtle mind; yet they are, as a rule, difficult to read, for the author deals with abstract subjects in a style which is far from natural and lacks simplicity.

5. Exegetes and Orators

The heat of controversy and the constant necessity of combating new errors had lent a new stimulus to theological [300] research and caused it to produce, even in these unsettled times, solid, if not always elegant, works. Exegesis had not this stimulus, consequently it was unable to sustain itself, and rapidly fell into mediocrity. Instead of studying the Sacred Text and explaining it in their own way, some exegetes found it easier to copy passages from the ancient commentators. Thus they compiled what are called *Catenae Scripturarum*, works of pure erudition, in which the author's personality more or less disappears, and which are an evident sign of sterility and weakness.

This impersonal character already appears in the commentaries written, perhaps in the fifth century, by a priest of Antioch named Victor. His commentary on St. Mark[2] and even that on Jeremias[3] are, for the most part, borrowed from the exegetical writers of Antioch. The same impersonal tone prevails in the much larger works of the sophist Procopius of Gaza.

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[1] Straubinger cites another treatise not yet edited: *Ten sentences* (κεψάλαια) *on the wills and operations with citations from the Fathers.*

[2] Edit. J. A. Cramer, *Catenae Patrum*, Oxford, 1844, I, 259-447.

[3] See M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Katenen*, Freiburg, 1899.

Procopius[1] (born 465; died 528) was the most brilliant master of the school of Gaza and, in spite of many alluring offers from other cities, spent almost his entire life in his native town. He is the author of a voluminous correspondence, of a panegyric on the Emperor Anastasius, pronounced between 512 and 515, and of commentaries in the form of chains, "Catenae." There is first a large com mentary on the Octateuch, still unpublished, although utilized in later analogous works; then an extract of this commentary made by Procopius himself, in which he cites St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, and St. Cyril of Alexandria; next a large commentary on Isaias; and finally some *Scholia* on the 4 Books of Kings and Paralipomenon, the greater part of which is furnished by Theodoret of Cyrus. The authenticity of the commentaries and "chains" on Proverbs and the Canticle of Canticles, which are found among his works[2] is uncertain.

To this same category of impersonal commentaries belong [301] those of Olympiodorus,[3] a deacon of Alexandria (first half of the sixth century) on Ecclesiastes, Jeremias, Lamentations, and Baruch. There remain only some scholia or fragments of his works on Job, Proverbs, and St. Luke.

In borrowing from the works of their predecessors, not all the exegetes of this period adopted this form of pure transcription: some were more original, yet they deserve only brief notice. A priest of Alexandria, named Ammonius, who lived under the Emperor Leo I (457-474), wrote some commentaries on the Psalms, Daniel, St. Matthew, St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the First Epistle of St. Peter: fragments of these commentaries may be found in the Catenae.[4] Gregory (c. 600), bishop of Girgenti (Agrigente in Sicily), is the author of a lengthy commentary on Ecclesiastes.[5] Oecumenius (c. 600), bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, wrote a commentary (unpublished) on the Apocalypse. Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse,[6] before 637. A certain Peter of Laodicea (middle of the seventh century) composed a commentary on the Gospels, some fragments of which, together with a complete commentary on St. Matthew, have been published.[7] Anastasius III, patriarch of Nicea, c. 700, left a commentary on the Psalms (unpublished).

The transition from exegetes to orators may be easily seen by studying the works of Gennadius I, patriarch of Constantinople (458-471), who is at once an exegete and a homilist. His namesake of Marseilles[8] describes him as "*vir lingua nitidus et ingenio acer*," and attributes to him a commentary on the entire Book of Daniel and many homilies. According to the *Chronicle* of Marcellinns (for the year 470) he also explained all the Epistles of St. Paul. Only fragments of all these works remain.[9]

Eutychius (552-582), one of his successors, is the author of an important discourse, unfortunately incomplete, entitled *Sermo de Paschate et de Sacrosancta Eucharistia* and of a letter to Pope Vigilius.[10] [302]

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[1] Works in *P. G.* LXXXVII, 1-3. See J. SEITZ, *Die Schule von Gaza*, Heidelberg, 1892. E. LINDL, *Die Oktateuchkatene des Prokop von Gaza*, Munich, 1902. Procopius of Gaza must not be confounded with ENEAS of Gaza, his contemporary, author of a work on the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, entitled *Theophrasius*, nor with the historian Procopius of Caesarea, his junior, and author of the *De Bello Persico*.

[2] *P. G.*, LXXXVII, I, 1221-1544 and 2, 1545-1800.

[3] *P. G.*, XCIII.

[4] *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1361-1610.

[5] *P. G.*, XCVIII, 741-1182.

[6] *P. G.*, CVI, 215-458.

[7] *P. G.* LXXXVI, 2, 3321-3336, and G. HEINRICI, *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung dcs Matthäus-Evangeliums*, Leipzig, 1908.

[8] *Vir. Ill.*, 89.

[9] *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1613-1734.

[10] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 2391-2406.

We may also name here the monk Alexander of Salamina (under Justinian),[1] the Patriarch Gregory of Antioch (570-593),[2] and the patriarch Modestus of Jerusalem[3] (631-634).

Other more important orators, *e.g.*, Andrew of Crete, St. Germanus of Constantinople, and St. John of Damascus, will be dealt with later.

6. Historians and Hagiographers — Evagrius

Historians, and particularly hagiographers, wrote with much more success at this period than the exegetes. Almost nothing is known about Gelasius of Cyzicus in Propontis, except that his father was a priest at Cyzicus and that he himself wrote, c. 475-476, in Bithynia, a history of the Council of Nicaea in three books. Gelasius himself tells us that he found the elements of this work "in a very old book written on parchment," which his father had transmitted to him, in the account of a priest named John, "an ancient and able writer," and in the writings of more recent historians. The old book and the account of John are very likely myths, and the history of Gelasius is, as a matter of fact, nothing more than a compilation — full of mistakes — of the works of Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates, and Theodoret. Only the first 2 books are known.[4]

A little later, in the beginning of the fourth century, a lector in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, named Theodore, composed first a *history* drawn from the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, in 4 books, with an independent continuation to the reign of Justin I (518), also in 4 books. The first work has not yet been published; of the second we have only a few excerpts.[5]

A historian of the sixth century well worthy of the name, is Evagrius.[6] He was born at Epiphania in Cœlesyria, c. 536, and took up the practice of law at Antioch, whence his [303] surname *Scholasticus*. An intimate friend of the patriarch Gregory, he defended him with such success before the Emperor Maurice, in 588, that the latter showered him with honors. We are not sure when he died, but it was certainly after 594.

Of Evagrius' writings there is extant only his *Historia Ecclcsiastica*, in 6 books, his principal literary work. The author describes it as a continuation of the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. It goes from the Council of Ephesus in 431 down to the twelfth year of the reign of the Emperor Maurice, 594. The author had a very lofty conception of his task; he made a serious study of his subject and its sources; he cites the original documents, writings, and official reports; but he shows too much credulity for the miraculous common in his time. The narrative as a whole is well constructed, though deficient in the arrangement of details. The style is pompous, yet Photius found it graceful, though somewhat prolix. The *History* of Evagrius contains the best exposition of the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies which antiquity has left us.

Side by side with the histories properly so called, we must place the *Chronicles*. Evagrius cites a chronicle of Eustathius of Epiphania, which stops at the year 502, and another of John the Rhetorician, probably of Antioch, which reached to the year 526. These works are lost; but we have the *Chronicon Paschale*,[7] so called because it opens with a long discussion on the determination of the date of Easter. This work embraces the history of the world, beginning with the creation and extending to the twentieth year of the reign of Heraclius (630) and adding to the chronologic indications miscellaneous historical notices of

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[1] *P. G.*, LXXXVII, 3, 4015-4106.

[2] *P. G.*, LXXXVIII, 1847-1886, and x, 1177-1190

[3] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 3273-3312; Photius, *Cod.*, 275.

[4] *P. G.*, LXXXV, 1191-1360, and A. M. Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Prof ana*, I Milan, 1861, p. 129 ff.

[5] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, I, 165-228. See J. Bidez, *La Tradition Manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur*, Leipzig, 1904.

[6] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 2415-2886; better edit, by J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London, 1899.

[7] *P. G.*, xcii.

special importance for the first decades of the seventh century. The unknown author probably belonged to the clergy of Constantinople and must have completed his work shortly after the year 630.

Before passing to the hagiographers, we may mention an original work of geography and cosmography, a *Christian Topography of the World* (Χριστιανικὴ τοπογραφία παντὸς κοσμοῦ) by Cosmas, surnamed, Indicopleustes, i.e., "the Indian traveller."[1] Cosmas was an Alexandrian merchant [304] who, under Justin and Justinian, undertook long voyages, visiting the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, Ceylon, and the coasts of India. On his return to Egypt, tired of travel, he became a monk and devoted the rest of his life to writing. He himself tells us that he composed works of exegesis and cosmography, only one of which, his *Christian Topography*, written in 547, has reached us. It is a strange mixture, in twelve books, of the most unscientific hypotheses on the shape of the earth and its principal phenomena, — hypotheses which he records as revealed truths, — and most interesting information about the countries the author visited and the things he saw there. Cosmas was a careful observer and his descriptions are lifelike and sincere; but his style is mediocre.

The sixth and seventh centuries were, *par excellence*, the centuries of hagiographers. During this period many authors were found ready to write the lives of saintly bishops and monks, and this form of writing, in the hands of theological factions, became a means of propaganda for their cause and their teaching. The best of these hagiographers in the sixth century is Cyril of Scythopolis. Cyril was born, c. 522, at Scythopolis, the ancient Bethsan of the Bible. He became acquainted with St. Sabas, in 532, and entered the monastery of St. Euthymius, in 544. Thence he passed to the "New Laura," near Jerusalem, in 554, and, in 557, to the "Great Laura" of St. Sabas, where he spent the rest of his life. Cyril's distinctive trait is his painstaking exactitude both in gathering and in recording information. He had a passion for facts. His chronology, too, is carefully ordered. And, in spite of that love of the miraculous which he shares with all the authors of this period, he is one of the most trustworthy hagiographers of antiquity. He wrote a *Life of St. Euthymius* (555), a *Life of St. Sabas* (556), and 5 shorter *Lives* of St. John the Silent (557), St. Cyriacus the Hermit (d. 556), St. Theodosius the Cenobiarch (d. 529), St. Theognius, bishop of Bethelia (d. 522), and St. Abramius, bishop of Cratea and monk of the monastery of Scholarios.

The life of St. Theodosius had already been written, in 547, by one of his monks, Theodorus, afterwards bishop of Petra, and that of St. Theognius, c. 526, by Paul, abbot of Elusa in Idumaea.[2] [305]

After Cyril, it will be enough to name, at the end of the sixth century, the priest Eustratius of Constantinople, author of a Life of the patriarch Eutychius (552-582),[3] and in the beginning of the VII century, John the Almoner (d. 617), author of a Life of St. Tycho.[4] John himself had a biographer in John Moschus.

It is difficult to trace in detail the career of John Moschus. About 575, he entered the monastery of Theodosius, lived successively in several *Laurae* and, after a stay in the neighborhood of Antioch, passed into Egypt, c. 605, with his friend Sophronius. There he remained about eight years, keeping in touch with the most famous hermits. He was obliged to flee before the invading Persians and came to Rome, where he composed *The Meadow* (Λειμών), called by the Latins *Pratum Spirituale*. He died in Rome, A. D. 619, leaving to Sophronius the task of publishing his book.

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[1] *P. G.*, LXXXVIII, 51-470. See the article by E. Venables in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

[2] Lives of St. Euthymius and St. Sabas in Cotelier, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, III, IV; Life of John the Silent in *Acta Sanctorum*, May, III, 16*-21*; Life of St. Cyriacus, *ibid.* September, VIII, 147-159. The two Lives of St. Theodosius (by Cyril and Theodore) in Usener, *Der hl. Theodosios*, Leipzig, 1890; the two Lives of St. Theognius (by Cyril and Paul) in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, X (1891), 73-118; the life of Abramius, *ibid.*, XXIV (1905) and in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLIX (1906). See R. Genier, *Vie de Saint Euthyme le Grand*, Paris, 1909.

[3] *P. G.*, LXXXVI, 2, 2273-2390.

[4] Edit. H. Usener, *Sonderbare Heilige*, I, Leipzig, 1907.

With the help of Sophronius, John Moschus wrote a *Life of St. John the Almoner*, an excerpt of which is still preserved. His principal title as a writer, however, rests on the *Pratum Spirituale*.[1] This is a collection of anecdotes, devotional accounts, instructive and pious remarks and discourses, which John had heard or witnessed, or which had been related to him in the various monasteries he visited. The work, written in a popular style, was an immense success; it is interesting and depicts the monastic life of the time at its best. The text, however, in course of time has under gone many alterations, suppressions, and additions which impair its primitive integrity. Already in the time of Photius the copies differed in the number of chapters; the present printed editions give 219.

To complete the list of the principal hagiographers, we have still to mention Leontius of Neapolis, in Cyprus (first half of the seventh century), author of a biography of St. [306] John the Almoner, a life of the monk Simeon, "who became a fool for the love of Christ," some sermons, and fragments of a large controversial work against the Jews, cited by the seventh general council;[2] another Leontius (same period), abbot of the monastery of St. Sabas in Rome, who wrote a life of St. Gregory of Girgenti;[3] and, finally, a certain Theodore, bishop of Paphos in Cyprus, who wrote, in 655, a Life of St. Spiridion of Trimithus, the popular saint of that island.[4]

7. Ascetic Writers and Canonists — St. John Climacus

The hagiographies just dealt with are already, in a way, books of asceticism; nor are speculative writers on the spiritual life lacking from the sixth to the eighth century. We have spoken before of Pseudo-Dionysius, St. Sophronius, St. Maximus, and Anastasius Sinaita, and we shall speak later of St. Germanus of Constantinople and St. John of Damascus.

In the first half of the sixth century, Zosimas, who was abbot of a monastery in the vicinity of Caesarea of Palestine, gave to his monks a series of conferences, which one of them, perhaps, put down in writing.[5]

The abbot Dorotheus, superior of a monastery in the neighborhood of Gaza (c. 540-550), is the author of 24 discourses and 8 letters on Christian and monastic perfection.[6] If, as Evagrius asserts,[7] Dorotheus was a Severian Monophysite, he left no trace of it in his discourses.

St. Simeon Stylites the Younger (d. 596), who lived a little later, is thought to be the author of 30 similar treatises.[8] Two of his letters are cited by the seventh general council.

Still later, c. 620, Antiochus, a monk of the monastery of St. Sabas, composed *Pandects of Sacred Scripture*, *i.e.*, 130 chapters on the duties of Christians and the religious life; each teaching is sustained by quotations from Scripture and the Fathers. The work ends with a prayer for [307] the deliverance of Jerusalem, which was then under Persian domination.[9]

These writings are not very well known. One which met with greater success is *The Ladder* (Κλῖμαξ) or "Ladder to Paradise," to which its author, St. John Climacus, owes his surname.[10] His birthplace is not known. All we know is that he went into solitude at an early age and lived at first as a hermit, then directed a monastery on Mt. Sinai, of which he had been chosen superior, and finally resigned and returned to his

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[1] *P. G.*, LXXXVII, 3, 2851-3112; *P. L.*, LXXIV, 119-240. See S. Vailhé, *Jean Mosch* in the *Echos d'Orient*, v (1902), 107-116.

[2] *P. G.*, xciii, 1565 ff.

[3] *P. G.*, xcviii, 549-716.

[4] Edit. Sp. Papageorgios, Athens, 1901.

[5] *P. G.*, LXXVIII, 1679-1702.

[6] *P. G.*, LXXXVIII, 1611-1842.

[7] *H. E.*, iv, 33 Evagrius:Evagrius, HE 4.33]].

[8] Edit. J. Cozza-Luzi, in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, viii, Romae, 1871, 3, 4-156.

[9] *P. G.*, LXXXIX, 1421-1856.

[10] Works in *P. G.*, LXXXVIII, 631-1248. See J. Pargoire in the *Échos d'Orient*, viii (1905), 372 ff.

retreat, where he died, c. 649. It was at the request of one of his friends, also called John, abbot of a monastery at Raithu, that John Climacus, then a superior himself, wrote *The Ladder*. This book is a complete treatise on the spiritual and monastic life, which the author compares to a ladder of 30 rungs, on which the soul ascends to God. Each of the rungs is a virtue to be practiced or a vice to be overcome. The work is the result of long experience, is fairly well written, and illustrated by concrete examples. Its success was immense, and it was commented upon by John of Raithu and after him by other authors. John Climacus is also the author of a *Book* or *Letter to the Shepherd* (Πρὸς τὸν ποιμένα), likewise written at the request of the Abbot of Raithu, in which he defines the duties of the abbot of a monastery and instructs him how to fulfil them. The same experience and the same wisdom are to be met with here as in *The Ladder*.

Mere mention will suffice for the abbot Thalassius, superior of a monastery in Libya, c. 650, author of 400 "*Sententiae*" *On Charity and Continence*, divided into four "*centuriae*,"[1] and John of Carpathus, probably bishop of the island of that name, who assisted at the council of 680. Photius[2] read a book of his entitled *Book of Consolation to the Monks of India*, containing 100 maxims or sentences. Other collections of monastic exhortations are current under his name.[3]

As the administrative life of the Greek Church became more and more complex, there was felt the need of more complete and systematized collections of canons than those [308] until then in use. Former collections simply gave the canons of each council in their chronological order. A new system was now inaugurated by Iohannes Scholasticus, or "the Jurist," patriarch (intruder) of Constantinople from 565-577. He compiled the canons of the councils under 50 titles, according to their subject matter, and added to them 89 canons of the Apostles, 22 of Sardicus, and 68 from the canonical letters of St. Basil. This work was written while John was still a layman. When he became patriarch, he issued a second and enlarged edition, and added to it 87 chapters of enactments selected from the *Novellae* of Justinian.[4] From the re-arrangement and condensation of this latter work arose, later on, the first so-called *Nomocanon*, *i.e*., the first collection giving the texts both of the civil (νόμος) and of the ecclesiastical law (κανών)[5] on the same subject. Another nomocanon of this kind, attributed to Photius, was composed, it is believed, in the seventh century and could only have been completed by that patriarch.[6] An other patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster (*Ieiunator*, 582-595), with whom St. Gregory the Great had much difficulty because of his arrogant assumption of the title of Universal Patriarch, is the author of a *Rescriptum de Sacramento Baptismatis* (lost), addressed to Leander of Seville, and perhaps of a *Sermo de Poenitentia et Continentia et Virginitate*, a *Doctrina Monialium*, and a few other minor writings.[7] The *Poenitentiale*, the *Sermo ad eos qui Peccatorum Confessionem Patri suo Spirituali Edituri sunt*, published under his name, are in reality works of the eleventh or twelfth century.

8. Poets[8]

Until the sixth century, Greek Christian authors who wrote in verse simply followed more or less closely the rules [309] of classical poetry, which makes the rhythm rest on the quantity of the syllables. This is

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1 *P. G.*, XCI, 1427-1470.

2 *Cod.*, 201.

3 *P. G.*, LXXXV, 791-826.

4 Edit. G. Voelli *et* H. Iustelli, *Biblioth. Iur. Canonici Veteris*, II, Paris, 1661, 499-602; E. Heimbach, *Anecdota*, II, Leipzig, 1840, p. 202-234; I- B. Pitra, *Iuris Eccles. Graecorum Historia et Monumenta*, II, Romae, 1868, 368 ff., 385-405. Photins (*Cod.*, 75) cites a *Catechetical Discourse* delivered by Johannes Scholasticus in 566.

5 Edit. G. Voelli et H. Iustelli, *loc. cit*., 603-660; Pitra, *loc. cit*., 416-420.

6 Edit. Pitra, *loc. cit*., 433-640.

7 *P. G.*, LXXXVIII, 1937-1978; Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesmense*, IV, Paris, 1858, 416-444; *Iuris Eccl. Graecor. Hist. et Monum.*, II, 222-237.

8 See W. Christ et M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Lipsiae, 1871. I. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicileg. Solesm. Parata*, I, Paris, 1876. Edm. Bouvy, *Poètes et Mélodes*, Nimes, 1886. F. Cabrol, *L'Hymnographie de l'Eglise Grecque*, Angers, 1893.

evidenced in the poems of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, Synesius, and, in the fifth century, in those of the Empress Eudoxia, Nonnus of Panopolis, and others. Yet we find already in St. Gregory 2 hymns, — *Hymnus Vespertinus* and *Exhortatio ad Virgines* — the rhythm of which is no longer based on the quantity of the syllables, but on the tonic accent of the words. This was an innovation that met with ready acceptance. It came opportunely at the moment when it was no longer forbidden in the Greek churches to chant pieces of poetry other than those of the Sacred Books and when the growing splendor of the Greek liturgy was rapidly nearing its apogee in the Byzantine metropolis. There followed a magnificent flight of religious hymnology, which shed on fading literature a last gleam of light, and proved that the notes of piety were still able to find an echo in souls, even in the midst of the frivolous society of the time.

Of the first Greek hymnographers in the fifth century we know only a few, and of these hardly anything but their names: Anthimus and Timocles, cited by Theodorus Lector; Marcianus, Iohannes Monachus, Seta, and especially Auxentius, one of whose hymns was preserved by his biographer George.[1] It may well be that, in the mass of anonymous pieces which we possess, some belong to these authors, but until now no precise assignment has been possible.

The first hymnographer worthy of note in the sixth century is Romanos, surnamed "Melodus" (the Singer). According to the Greek Menaia, which place his feast on the first of October, he was born at Emesus, was a deacon at the Church of the Resurrection at Berytus, and came thence to Constantinople, where he became a member of the clergy in charge of the services of the Blachernae Church. This took place under the Emperor Anastasius. But which Anastasius? The most recent critics think it was Anastasius I (491-518) and consequently place the principal period of Romanos' literary activity between 536 and 556. This [310] activity was extremely great. The Menaia say that he composed about 1000 hymns or κοντάκια, about 80 of which are extant. It is difficult to reconstruct his dispersed and mutilated work. Critics agree, however, that he is incontestably foremost among the Greek, and perhaps among all hymnographers, for poetical genius, brilliance of inspiration, depth of feeling, and loftiness of expression. They charge him with but one defect, common to all Byzantine poets, — rhetorical prolixity.[2]

We have already had occasion to speak of the poems of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem. His colleague Sergius of Constantinople, the Monothelite (610-638), according to several critics is the author of a celebrated hymn, (ἀκάθιστος, *i.e.*, sung while all remain standing), which was chanted wiih all solemnity on the Saturday of the fourth week in Lent. It is a long hymn of thanksgiving to the Blessed Virgin, in 24 parts, and is known as the Greek *Te Deum*. It is full of enthusiasm, mystical effusion, and harmony.[3] Other critics attribute it to Georgius Pisides,[4] contemporary of Sergius, deacon and custodian of the sacred vessels or of the archives of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Contrary to the practice prevalent among the hymnographers of his time, George by preference cultivated classical poetry, composing according to the laws of quantitative metre and not of tonic accent. Besides a few profane poems, we possess of him, in part at least, a poem on the creation of the world, another on the vanity of human life, a third against Severus of Antioch, a hymn on the resurrection of Christ and many compositions of minor importance. His verse is always correct, fluent, and elegant, though dispassionate.

Andrew of Crete[5] brings us back to the tonic accent. He was born at Damascus, in the second half of the seventh century. For several years he was a monk in Jerusalem, where he composed most of his works. According to the liturgical sources, he went from there to Constantinople, [311] where he defended the

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[1] *P. G.*, CXIV, 1416 and L. CLUGNET, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, VIII (1903), p. 1 ff.

[2] See KRUMBACHER, *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayer. Akademie,* Munich, 1898, 1899, 1901, 1904 and *Abhandl. der kgl. bayer. Akad.*, 1907.

[3] Edit. by CHRIST and PARANIKAS, *Op. cit.*, 140-147; *P. G.*, XCII, 1335-1348; PITRA, *loc. cit.*, 250-262; NILLES, *Kalendarium Manuale*, II, 168-183. See PL. DE MEESTER, *L'Inno Acatisto*, Rome, 1905.

[4] Works in *P. G.*, XCII, 1197-1754; L. STERNBACH, *Georgii Pisidae Carmina Inedita*, in *Wiener Studien*, XIII (1891); XIV (1892).

[5] Works in *P. G.*, XCVII, 789-1444.

orthodox faith against Monothelitism and was ordained deacon. It is certain that, before the year 711, he was made archbishop of Crete. Under Leo the Isaurian (717-741) he appears as a defender of the sacred images. He died in 720 and is honored as a saint in the Greek Church (July 4). Andrew has left us some lengthy discourses on different subjects, notably on the birth and death of the Blessed Virgin, as well as liturgical poems sung to a special melody (ἰδιόμελα), but he is known especially as the creator of the hymns called "*canons*" (κανόνες). The "canon" is a chant made up of 9 odes or shorter hymns, each of which contains several strophes. The most famous of Andrew's numerous "canons" is the *Great Canon*, which is sung entire on Thursday in the fourth week of Lent; it contains no less than 250 strophes. It is a penitential hymn which enumerates all the examples of unfaithfulness and repentence related in the Old and New Testaments.[1] Andrew, as a rule, introduced much theology into his compositions and we cannot but praise him for the depth of his thought and feeling; yet he does not know how to write with simplicity, nor how to express his ideas tersely. It is very trying to read his long, monotonous works.

Besides him the Greek Church numbered three other good hymnographers: the two Cosmas[2] and St. John of Damascus. Cosmas the Elder was a very learned monk, who came from Sicily, was freed from captivity among the Saracens by the father of St. John of Damascus, and became the teacher of John and of Cosmas the Younger. He wrote some religious verses, unfortunately confused in the manuscripts with those of his namesake, so that it is often impossible to discern which of the two Cosmas is the author of a given poem. Cosmas the Younger, surnamed the Singer or Melodus, was an orphan, brought up with John of Damascus, who, after having been, like him, a monk at St. Sabas, in 743 became bishop of Majuma, near Gaza. He had made a special study of the poetry of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, on which he wrote "*Scholia*." Like Andrew of Crete, Cosmas wrote *canons*, shorter, it is true, than those of [312] his predecessor, but often sacrificing warmth of inspiration and clearness of style to subtlety of thought and external technique. Nevertheless, later Byzantines greatly admired him. They did not separate him from St. John of Damascus, but placed them both first among the hymnographers of the Greek Church.

9. Defenders of the Sacred Images — St. John of Damascus

The question of the worship to be paid to sacred images did not arise for the first time in 726, with the edict of Leo the Isaurian; it had been discussed long before between Jews and Christians, the former basing their arguments on the Old Testament, in order to blame the latter not only for the worship but also for the use of figured representations of God and the Saints. Leontius of Naples (first half of the seventh century), had answered the arguments. A century later (beginning of the eighth century) Stephen of Bostra again combated them in a large work, some fragments of which remain.[3] The edict of Leo the Isaurian, which forbade the worship of images — a real heresy — revived the controversy among Christians and brought about divisions in the Church itself.

The sacred images found eloquent and courageous champions, who spoke and wrote and suffered in their defence. We have already said a few words of Andrew of Crete. The purpose and limitations of this work allow us to name but two others, the second of whom was at the same time the last great theologian of the Greek Church, — St. Germanus of Constantinople and St. John of Damascus.

Germanus of Constantinople,[4] born of a noble family, c. 635, was bishop of Cyzicus, and about eighty years old, when he was made patriarch of Constantinople, in 715. In this new office his administration was disturbed, first by political revolutions and the attacks of the Arabs upon Constantinople, and later by the decree issued by the Emperor against the sacred images (726). It was in vain that the patriarch endeavored

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[1] For information about the chant of this canon read the details given by NILLES, *Kalend. Manuale*, II, 147 ff. About one thousand prosternations accompany its recitation.

[2] See *P. G.*, XCVIII, 459-524 and XXXVIII, 339-680; CHRIST and PARANIKAS, *op. cit.*, 161-204.

[3] See J. M. MERCATI in *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, LXXVII (1895), 662-668.

[4] Works in P. G., XCVIII.

to convert Leo and his followers to sounder views. Obliged to resign in 730, he retired to his home, where he died in 733, at the age of ninety-eight. [313]

Several dogmatic works of St. Germanus are extant: *De Haeresibus et Synodis*, written shortly after 726; *Epistolae Dogmaticae*, some of them very important for the history of Iconoclasm; *Pro Decretis Concilii Chalcedonensis Epistola Graecorum ad Armenios*; 9 *Orationes*, 7 of which are on the Blessed Virgin; a moral work entitled *De Vitae Termino*; and, finally, a mystical exposition of the liturgy, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Contemplatio* and a few hymns. A work analyzed by Photius,[1] in which Germanus defended St. Gregory of Nyssa against the accusation of Origenism, has been lost. Photius praises both its composition and its style. St. Germanus, however, shows in his discourses the defects common to all Byzantine orators, namely, lack of sobriety, and monotony resulting from constant use of the same method of development.

While St. Germanus was protesting against the edict of Leo the Isaurian at Constantinople, a more learned protestation issued from Damascus, — that of St. John of Damascus.[2] Very few details of his life are known. He was born at Damascus, before the end of the seventh century, of a Christian family, who held an important hereditary position under the government of the Arabs, then masters of the city. His father was named Sergius, and John was also given the Arabic name Mansur (the Ransomed). He received his education from Cosmas the Elder, a Sicilian monk, whom his father had delivered from captivity, and followed his lessons together with Cosmas the Younger, an orphan whom his father had adopted. His education completed, he probably held some civil office; but in 726, his name became famous through the publication of his first apology for the images against the edict of the Emperor. At Damascus, John was out of the reach of Leo the Isaurian, and consequently could speak more freely. Shortly afterwards he entered the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, and before 735, was ordained to the priesthood. Hence forth his life was given to prayer, study, and the composition of his many works. The date of his death must certainly be fixed before 754, when an Iconoclastic synod [314] anathematized his memory. According to Vailhé he died December 4, 749.

St. John of Damascus was at once a philosopher, a theologian, an ascetical writer, and an orator. He took up history and exegesis and composed liturgical hymns. Yet, with the exception of his polemics on images and his poems, he did little more in all the rest than to co-ordinate the traditional elements, sum up what other authors had said before him, and put the finishing touch to their teaching. This he did in a remarkable way, especially for theology. His treatise *On the Orthodox Faith* is methodical, clear, and almost complete; written in a vigorous and concise style, it has remained the *summa* of Greek theology, in which very little was added or changed in the following centuries. His religious poems would have placed him at the head of Greek hymnographers if, instead of so visible a seeking after art, there were in them more simplicity and freedom. However, it was on account of their defects that these poems pleased his contemporaries and supplanted those of Romanos in the liturgical books. The Byzantines have surnamed John of Damascus *Chrysorroas* (one who pours out gold), and this name shows well enough the admiration posterity has had for his person and his works.

St. John's literary legacy comprises dogmatic, polemical, ascetical, historical, and exegetical writings, homilies and hymns.

1. Dogmatical Writings. — The most famous of St. John's dogmatic writings is the *Fountain of Wisdom* (Πηγὴ γνώσεως), into which he has condensed all his theology, and parts of which have been briefly outlined or developed in special works, of which we shall speak later. The work, dedicated to Cosmas, bishop of Majuma, and consequently written after the year 743, contains three great divisions. The first, entitled "Philosophical Chapters," was to place under the reader's eye "what was best in the writings of

[1] *Cod.*, 233.

[2] Works in *P. G.*, XCIV-XCVI. See D. AINSLEE, *John of Damascus*, 3rd edit, London, 1903. V. ERMONI, *Saint Jean Damascène*, Paris, 1904 (*La pensée chrétienne*); and J. H. LUPTON'S excellent article in Dictionary of Christ. Biography, III.

Greek philosophers"; but it is limited to an explanation of Aristotle's categories and Porphyry's five universals, whence it is usually known as *Dialectica*. The second division, entirely historical, is a succinct exposition (Περὶ αἱρέσεων ἐν συντομίᾳ) of the heresies which made their appearance in the Church up to that of the Iconoclasts. The elements of this work are borrowed from the *Panarion* of St. Epiphanius, from Theodoret, Timothy, and Sophromus. The notes on the heresies [315] of the Saracenes and Iconoclasts alone are original. The third division entitled *On the Orthodox Faith*, constitutes the theological exposition properly so-called, and is by far the most important part of the *Fountain of Wisdom*. The author divided it into 100 chapters; in the West it was divided into 4 books, probably after the pattern of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Book I (chs. 1-14) treats of God and the Trinity; Book II (chs. 15-44) of the creation, the angels, the visible world, man, and divine Providence; Book III (chs. 45-73) expounds the doctrine of the Incarnation against the different heresies which have attacked it; and Book IV (chs. 74-100), not very orderly, speaks first of the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, then of faith, baptism, and the Eucharist, the veneration of saints, relics, and images, the canon of the Scriptures, etc., and, finally, of the last things. The great authorities for St. John are the Cappadocian Fathers and Pseudo-Dionysius.

After the *Fountain of Wisdom* we may mention among the dogmatic works of St. John of Damascus, 4 others, much shorter, written undoubtedly after the year 743. They are: *The Small Book on the Orthodox Faith*, a profession of faith composed at the request of a bishop named Elias, who was suspected of heresy and destined to be presented by him to the metropolitan of Damascus; an *Elementary Introduction to Dogmas*, much akin to the *Dialectica* and the *Fountain of Wisdom*; a small catechetical treatise *On the Holy Trinity*, in which the Incarnation is also treated; and, finally, a letter *On the Hymn of the Trisagion*, addressed to the archimandrite Jordanes in proof of the assertion that the threefold Sanctus of this hymn refers to the three divine persons and not to the Son alone, and that consequently the addition of Peter Fullo, "thou who wast crucified for us," is inadmissible.[1]

2. Polemical Writings. — The polemical writings of St. John all bear on questions of belief and are therefore, in their way, also dogmatic in character. Against the Manichaeans he wrote 2 works: a long *Dialogue against the Manichaeans* in refutation of their dualistic system; and a shorter [316] treatise, somewhat similar in tone, the *Dispute of the Orthodox John with a Manichaean*. Against the Mohammedans he composed a *Dispute Between a Saracen and a Christian*, also in dialogue form, extant in 2 recensions;[2] it centers on fatalism and the Incarnation. The 2 fragments *On Dragons* and *On Witches* attack the Mohammedan and Jewish superstitions. Against the Nestorians are directed the treatises *Against the Heresy of the Nestorians* and *On Faith against the Nestorians*. Against the Monophysites were written the small work *On the Composite Nature* (Περὶ συνθέτου φύσεως) and another addressed, in the name of the Bishop of Damascus, *To the Jacobite Bishop of Daraea*. Monothelitism also was refuted by him in a dissertation *On the Two Wills in Christ*, which follows closely the argument of St. Maximus Confessor.

Finally, special mention must be made of the most original and important of St. John's polemical works, — the 3 apologetical discourses *Against Those who Reject the Sacred Images*. The first was probably written in 726, the second in 730, and the third a little later; the contents of the three books are strikingly similar. John shows that since the Incarnation we may represent God incarnate, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints; he refutes the arguments drawn from the Old Testament and proves that a worship that is relative and of secondary order (not adoration properly so called), may be rendered to all objects having some degree of religious perfection. He points out that images are a means of instructing the ignorant, a reminder of the mysteries of our Lord and of the virtues of the Saints, stimulants to virtue and, in a way, channels of grace. Each of the three discourses ends with a series of Patristic testimonies in favor of the thesis he is developing. After such a plea it might safely be said that the case was exhausted. The author goes about the

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[1] Five other dogmatic treatises attributed to St. John, *Exposition of the Faith* (*P. G.*, XCV, 417-436); *On the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ* (*ibid.*, 401-412); *On Those who died in the Faith* (*ibid.*, 247-278); *On the Azyms* (*ibid.*, 387-396); *On Confession* (*ibid.*, 283-304), are either doubtful or spurious.

[2] *P. G.*, XCIV, 1585-1598 and XCVI, 1335-1348.

disputation in a very able way and shows that to attack sacred images is to go against a universally accepted practice of the Church.[1]

3. Ascetical Writings. — The most important of St. John's ascetical works is that entitled Ἱερά (The Sacred [317] [Texts]), now known as the *Sacra Parallela*.[2] It is a collection of Scriptural and Patristic quotations which the author divided into 3 books. In the first 2 books, which deal with God and the Trinity and man and human relations, these texts were connected by certain characteristic words, arranged in alphabetical order. In the third book, which deals with virtues and vices, each vice was, as a rule, opposed to a virtue, whence the name *Parallela*, given especially to this section of the compilation. Unfortunately, later recensions have modified this order, and the work has not reached us in its original form. It is none the less precious, however, for certain texts of the ancient Fathers which it alone preserves. Besides the *Sacra Parallela*, St. John wrote a letter to the monk Cometas *On the Sacred Fasts*, relative to the duration of the Lenten fast; another to a monk *On the Eight Spirits of Iniquity*, *i.e.*, on the eight deadly sins; and a small treatise *On Virtues and Vices*, closely related to the foregoing letter.

4. Historical and Exegetical Writings and Homilies. — The only historical essay of St. John of Damascus is the heresiological summary which forms part of the *Fountain of Wisdom*.[3] His single exegetical work is a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, drawn principally, and often word for word, from the discourses of St. John Chrysostom, Theodoret, and St. Cyril of Alexandria. Thirteen homilies are current under his name, the most important of which are the three on the death and assumption of the Blessed Virgin.[4] The authenticity of his homilies on the birth of Mary has been severely contested, while the two on the annunciation must certainly be rejected.

5. Poems. — St. John cultivated both classical and rhythmical poetry. To the first form belong 3 hymns, or "canons," written in iambic verse for the Nativity of our Lord, the Epiphany, and Pentecost, and another piece in anacreontic verse. To the second form belong 4 "canons" for Easter, the Ascension, the Transfiguration, and the [318] Dormition of the Bl. Virgin.[5] We may mention also an *Idiomela* (a hymn with a special melody) for the office of the dead. These titles are given only as samples: the poetical work of St. John of Damascus was much more considerable, and it is to be hoped that future discoveries will enrich this part of his known works.

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[1] The three works *Adversus Constantinum Cabalinum* (*P. G.*, XCV, 309-344); *Epistola ad Theophilum Imperatorem* (*ibid.*, 345-386) and *Adversus Iconoclastas* (XCVI, 1347-1362) were not written by St. John.

[2] Special edit, with critical notes by K. HOLL, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damaszenus*, Leipzig, 1897 (*Texte und Unters.*, XVI, I).

[3] The *Life of Barlaam and Joasaph* (work of a monk of St. Sabas in the first half of the seventh century) and the *Passion of St. Artemius*, are falsely ascribed to St. John.

[4] In the second of these homilies (ch. 18) the history of the relations of Juvenal of Jerusalem with the Empress Pulcheria, touching the tomb of the Virgin, has been interpolated.

[5] The six canons edited by Mai and recopied in *P. G.*, XCVI, 1371-1408, are spurious. — Ancient tradition ascribed to St. John the composition of the *Octoechus*, a collection of canons, hymns, troparia and various Sunday chants, classified according to the eight tones on which they are sung; the exactitude of this has recently been contested. — For information on the *Octoechus* see NILLES, *Kalendarium Manuale*, I, p. 52 ff.; and u, p. 433 ff.

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Section II

SYRIAN AND ARMENIAN WRITERS

1. Syrian Writers[1]

In the foregoing period — from the fourth to the middle of the fifth century — a few eminent names appeared in Syriac literature, *viz*., Aphraates, St. Ephraem, Rabbulas, Maruthas, and Isaac the Great. The following centuries, especially the sixth, were no less fruitful. One has only to read the volume of Rubens Duval, to be convinced that all kinds of Christian literature, versions and commentaries of the Bible, apology, theology, canon law, church history, hagiography, asceticism, poetry, had worthy representatives among Syriac writers. Aside from the large number and the obscurity of many of these authors, one circumstance forbids our placing their names in a work of this kind, namely the fact that almost all of them lived outside the Church. The Syrians living in Persia (Nisibis and Seleucia), called the Oriental Syrians, generally professed Nestorianism, whilst those living in Syria, and even Osrhoene, called the Occidental Syrians, were as a rule Monophysites. It may be affirmed that, with few exceptions, such as the author of the *Chronicle*, called Josue the Stylite (c. 518),[2] and the author of the *Chronicle of Edessa*[3] (c. 540), Syriac writers after the middle of the fifth century were divided between these two heresies. Such being the case, we shall have to limit our notice to those among them who are most famous and whose names occur frequently in history.

1. Nestorian Writers. — Nestorianism, haunted from the official empire, found refuge first of all at Edessa, where Bishop Ibas (435-457), while condemning its excesses, favored its doctrinal tendencies. Ibas, like Rabbulas, wrote [320] in both Greek and Syriac, and ancient writers were acquainted with a commentary of his on Proverbs, homilies, hymns, and a controversial work written in the latter language. But after the death of Ibas, or even a little earlier, an orthodox reaction (449-450) forced the Nestorian teachers of the school of Edessa to flee to Nisibis in Persia. The most famous among them are Barsauma (Barsumas) and Narsai.

Barsauma became bishop of Nisibis and by dint of his shrewdness and energy succeeded in forcing Peroz, king of Persia, to make Nestorianism the only form of Christianity tolerated in the country. He died in 489. Besides discourses, hymns, letters, and a liturgy, he wrote the first statutes of the school of Nisibis, a recension of which, by his successor Osee or Eliseus, is still extant.[4]

Narsai accompanied Barsauma to Nisibis, and for forty-five years was director of the school founded by Barsauma. He died c. 502. His enemies surnamed him "the Leper," but the Nestorians, who admired his works, cannot praise him enough, and call him "the admirable Doctor," "the Tongue of the East," "the Poet of the Christian Religion," "the Harp of the Holy Ghost." Narsai wrote many things. The literary historian Ebedjesu attributed to him, in his catalogue of c. 1298, 360 metrical homilies in 12 volumes, commentaries on different parts of S. Scripture, a liturgy, an exposition of the (Eucharistic) mysteries and of Baptism, and a book entitled *De Corruptione Morum*. A few of his hymns and canticles, part of a poem on Joseph, and a number of his homilies have been published,[5] but so far his works are but imperfectly known.

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1 For this section see Rubens Duval, *Anc. litt. chrétiennes, La littérature syriaque*, 3º édit., Paris, 1907.

2 Edit. by W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, Cambridge, 1882.

3 Edit. by Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orient*., i, 388-417; re-edited by L. Hallier, *Texte und Untersuch*., ix, i, Leipzig, 1892.

4 I. Guidi, *Gli Statuti della Scuola di Nisibi*, Rome, 1890. J.-B. Chabot, *L'École de Nisibe, son Histoire, ses Statuts*, in the *Journal de la Société Asiatique*, July-August, 1896.

5 See Narsai's homilies published by A. Mingana, Mossul, 1905; H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge, 1909 (*Texts and Studies*, viii, i). F. Martin, *Narsès, Homélie sur les Trois Docteurs Nestoriens* (*Journal de la Soc. Asiatique*, 1899).

Among the famous professors who flourished in the school of Nisibis after Narsai, we must name Mar Aba, a convert from Mazdaism, who studied at Nisibis and Edessa, returned to profess Nestorianism at Nisibis, and occupied the see of Seleucia from 536-552. Different works are attributed to him: a version of the Old Testament, commentaries, ecclesiastical canons, synodal letters, homilies, and [321] hymns.[1] His master in Greek at Edessa was Thomas of Edessa, who ordinarily wrote in Syriac. According to Ebedjesu, Thomas wrote treatises on the Nativity and Epiphany of our Lord, an epistle on the musical tones of psalmody, sermons, works against the heretics, and on astrology. His treatises on the Nativity and Epiphany of our Lord have been preserved.[2]

Another celebrated teacher of the school of Nisibis is Henana of Adiabene (d. c. 590-596), who drew around him multitudes of students, but whose teaching, regarded as heretical, troubled the peace of the Nestorian Church. He was accused of being a Chaldean, an Origenist, and a Monophysite. In point of fact he thought on the Christological question like orthodox Catholics, and admitted the existence of original sin; he was perhaps won over to a few heretical opinions of Origen. His followers were anathematized by a synod held in May, 596, under the patriarch Sabriso. Henana wrote many biblical commentaries, in which he followed St. Chrysostom rather than Theodore of Mopsuestia, and, in 590, published a revision of the statutes of the school of Nisibis.

Henana found a formidable opponent in Babai the Great (569-628), abbot of the monastery of Izla. Babai was at once a thinker and a man of action, fiercely orthodox (Nestorian) and energetic to a fault. Appointed inspector of monasteries by the metropolitans of northern Persia, he sought out with zeal the Henanian heretics and made a successful stand against their propaganda. At the same time he wrote against them his treatise *On the Union* (of the two natures in Christ) and letters to the monk Joseph of Hazza, a follower of Henana. To Babai we also owe a commentary on the whole Bible, biographies of various saintly persons and martyrs, hymns and works of asceticism and liturgy.[3]

The zeal of Babai, however, did not prevent the conver sion to Catholicism of Sahdona, bishop of Mahozi of Arewan. Excommunicated and deposed for this step, Sahdona fled to Edessa, where he became bishop, taking the Greek [322] name of "Martyrius." There is extant from him a biog raphy, a funeral oration of his master Rabban James, and an ascetical treatise *On the Goodness of God and Different Virtues*.[4]

To close the list we may mention Isaac, a renowned ascetic, who became, for a few months, between 660 and 680, bishop of Nineveh, then tendered his resignation and retired into solitude, where he died at an advanced age. His teaching, which probably had much in common with that of the Catholics, gave rise to great opposition on the part of Daniel, bishop of Beit-Garmai. Isaac was a prolific writer. According to Ebedjesu, his works fall 7 volumes; they treat especially of the ascetical life. A 4 volume Arabic translation of them has been made, as well as an Ethiopic and a Greek version. Parts of his work have been published.[5]

2. Monophysitic Writers. — Whatever may have been the talent of several of the Nestorian writers, they remained inferior, as a class, to their Monophysitic rivals. These are also better known. Foremost among them is James of Sarug, born at Kourtam on the Euphrates, who became first chorepiscopus of Haura and, in 519, bishop of Batnan in the Sarug district. He died in 521. His entire life was devoted to study, which neither controversy nor persecution could disturb. His literary work, which is very rich, comprises: (1) In *prose* — many letters, a liturgy, an order of Baptism, 6 festal homilies, sermons on sins, on the Friday of the third week in Lent, and on Easter, funeral orations and a Life of Mar Hannina; (2) in *verse* — metrical

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[1] His Life has been published by P. BEDJAN, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha, de trois Autres Patriarches*, etc., Paris, 1895. See J. LABOURT, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, Paris, 1904, p. 163 ff.

[2] S. J. CARR, *Thomae Edesseni Tractatus de Nativitate Domini Nostri Christi*, Romae, 1898.

[3] M. LABOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 280 ff., gives citations from the treatise *On the Union*.

[4] See H. GOUSSEN, *Martyrius Sahdona's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1897; and the edition of Sahdona's works by P. BEDJAN, Leipzig, 1903.

[5] See J.-B. CHABOT, *De S. Isaaci Ninivitae Vita, Scriptis et Doctrina*, Louvain, 1892. ZINGERLE, *Monumenta Syriaca*, Innsbruck, 1869, i, p. 97-101. Also *P. G.*, LXXXVI, I, 799-888 (Isaac of Antioch).

homilies (760 of them, says Barhebraeus), scarcely half of which have reached us, and these in a recast form with many variations. The homilies in particular won for their author the titles of "Flute of the Holy Ghost" and "Harp of the Orthodox Church," given to him by his Monophysitic admirers. James of Sarug is one of the best writers in the Syriac language.[1] [323]

In prose composition he found his equal, if not superior, in bishop Philoxenus of Mabbug, whose life was as turbulent as that of James had been serene. Philoxenus (in Syriac Aksenâyâ) was born in Persia, in the Beit-Germai, and studied at Edessa under Ibas. Instead of embracing Nestorianism, he took the opposite stand, was named Bishop of Mabbug, near the Euphrates, by Peter the Fuller, in 485, and spent his life intriguing and fighting in the camp of Severus of Antioch for the doctrine of the one nature in Jesus Christ Banished by the Emperor Justin I, in 518, he died in Paphlagonia, c. 523. He has left us in verse a single hymn on the Nativity of our Lord; but his prose works are important. We are acquainted with and, at least in part, possess a commentary of his on the Gospels, 13 moral and ascetical homilies *De Correctione Morum*, 3 liturgies, an order of Baptism, and some Eucharistic prayers, treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation, several polemical works, discourses, monastic rules, and many letters.[2] As to the version of the New Testament to which he has given his name, and which appeared in 508, it was not written by him, but by his chorepiscopus Polycarp.[3] Both friends and opponents agree in praising the purity, force and elegance of Philoxenus style.

Among the letters of Philoxenus we find one directed against a monk who had fallen from Monophysitism into pantheism. This monk was the famous Stephen Bar Sudaili. Born at Edessa in the second half of the fifth century, he was attacked by James of Sarug and Philoxenus and, driven from the Church for his errors, retired to Jerusalem, where he found some Origenist monks, who shared his ideas. The best known of the works ascribed to [324] him is the *Book of Hierotheos*, commented upon by the patriarch Theodosius (887-896) and Barhebræus, the title of which seems to be borrowed from the indications of Pseudo-Dionysius on his master Hierotheos.[4]

With Philoxenus we may name John Bar Cursus, of the same doctrinal tendencies, bishop of Telia, in 519, who was driven from his see in 521, and died in 538. He is the author of a commentary on the *Trisagion*, a profession of faith for the monasteries of his diocese, and canons for clerics. His replies to the questions of the priest Sergius have been published.[5]

John may have known at Telia James Baradæus, who was born at the end of the fifth century and was the great reorganizer, in Syria and Asia Minor, of the Monophysite Church, threatened with ruin by the rigorous measures of the emperor. Consecrated bishop of Edessa, c. 543, but having in reality universal authority, James untiringly visited the two great provinces confided to his care and reconstructed his despondent party. It is after him that the Monophysite Church has been called *Jacobite*. He died in 578. James Baradæus wrote very little, and it is rather on account of his historical prominence than because of his works, that we have made mention of him. He was a friend of the most important historian of this period, John of Asia, whom he appointed bishop of Ephesus. The latter was born at Amid, in the beginning of the sixth century.

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[1] See J. B. Abeloos, *De Vita et Scriptis S. Jacobi Batnarum Sarugi in Mesopotamia Episcopi*, Louvain, 1857; P. Martin, *Correspondance de Jacques de Sarong avec les Moines du Convent de Mar Bassus* (*Zeitschr. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxx (1876), p. 217 ff. What has been edited of the works of James of Sarug is scattered throughout many books and reviews too numerous to be indicated here. See R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, pp. 353-355.

[2] See the article by E. Venable in *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, on Philoxenus (4), et A. Vaschalde, Three Letters of Philoxenus, Rome, 1902. The chief publications of Philoxenus' works are W. Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus*, London, 1894. I. Guidi, *La Lettera di Filosseno ai Monad di Tell Adda*, Roma, 1886. A. Vaschalde, *Op. cit.*, and *Philoxeni Mabbugensis Tractatus de Trinitate et Incarnatione* (*Corpus Script. Christ. Oriental.*, series 2, tom. xxvii, Paris, 1907).

[3] See J. Gwyn in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, art. Polycarpus (5). J. Lebon, *La Version philoxénienne de la Bible*, in the *Revue d'Hist. Eccles.*, xii (1911).

[4] See J. Frothingam, *Stephen bar Sudaili, the Syrian Mystic, and the Book of Hierotheos*, Leyden, 1886.

[5] Th. J. Lamy, *Dissertatio de Syrorum Fide et Disciplina in re Eucharistica*, Louvain, 1859.

In 529, he was a deacon at the monastery of St. John, but was forced to flee, to escape the persecution of the bishop of Antioch, and with drew to Constantinople. There he was courteously received by Justinian, who entrusted him with several missions, all of which he carried out successfully. This was the most happy period of his life. After the death of Justinian (565) he suffered cruelly from the animosity of the patriarchs of Constantinople, John III (Scholasticos) and Eutychius. He can not have lived much beyond the year 585.

John of Asia, or John of Ephesus, as he is often called, wrote and collected, c. 569, the *Lives of the Eastern Saints;* these saints were all Monophysites, contemporaries of the author, and their *Lives* are of the highest interest for us. [325] John is also the author of a still more precious work, a *Church History*. This work originally comprised 3 parts. The first, which began with Julius Caesar, is all lost. We find in the manuscripts lengthy fragments of the second part, which ends in 572, and it is thought that it has been literally and entirely reproduced in the *Chronicle* attributed to Dionysius of Tellmahre, which is the work of a monk who wrote towards 775. The third part, which goes to the year 585, has been preserved with numerous and important gaps.[1] This *History* is a source of prime importance for the knowledge of the changes undergone by the Jacobite Church in the sixth century. Although the author is an out and out Monophysite, he is usually impartial and eager for the truth. There is, however, as he himself admits, much confusion in his text on account of the material difficulties amid which he wrote. But in spite of this and in spite of their diffuseness, his writings picture vividly the events which he witnessed and never fail to impress and captivate the reader.

To Paul, bishop of Telia in Syria, we owe a translation of the Septuagint according to the Hexapla of Origen, made in 616-617. It is called the *Syriac Hexapla*, and for a time enjoyed great popularity. It has not reached us in complete form and only a few parts have been published.[2] More important, from the point of view of textual criticism, is the revision of the Philoxenian version of the New Testament made in 616 by Thomas of Heraclea, former bishop of Mabbug.[3] Unfortunately, there exists much uncertainty about the identification of his work in the manuscripts. [326]

Finally we come to two writers, James of Edessa and George, bishop of the Arabs, the first of whom in particular shed upon Syriac literature the most brilliant splendor. James of Edessa was born at Endeba, c. 640, and studied at the monastery of Kennesre and at Alexandria. Elected bishop of Edessa, probably in 684, he left his see in 688, taught in different monasteries and, in 708, returned to Edessa, where he died after only four months, June 5, 708. James was a kind of encyclopedist, who cultivated all the branches of sacred science. He was a good writer and had complete mastery of his mother tongue. His Scriptural works comprise a revision of the text of the Old Testament of the Peshitta, scholia and commentaries on different parts of the Bible,[4] notably on the work of the six days (*Hexaëmeron*),[5] and the translation of a history of the Rechabites by Zosimus.[6] For the divine service he composed a new liturgy and revised that of St. James, wrote his *Book of Treasures*, a collection of official prayers, and compiled an *ordo* and a calendar. He published also some canons for ecclesiastical and monastic discipline,[7] delivered homilies in prose and

[1] See J. P. N. LAND, *Johannes, Bischof von Ephesus*, Leyden, 1856. The *Lives of the Eastern Saints* have been edited by LAND, *Anecdota Syriaca* II, Leyden, 1868, p. 2-288. M. F. NAU in his *Supplément de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1897, p. 33 ff., gives an analysis of the second part of the *History*, certain fragments of which had already been published by Land, *loc. cit.*, 289-329, 363 and 385-391. The third part has been edited by W. CURETON, Oxford, 1853, and translated into English by P. SMITH, in 1860, and into German by SCHÖNFELDER, in 1862.

[2] See R. DUVAL, *La Littér. Syr.*, p. 64 ff.

[3] The Heraklean version has been published by J. WHITE under the title of Philoxenian Version: *S. Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*, Oxford, 1778-1803, completed by BENSLY, *The Heraclean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Cambridge, 1889. — See E. JACQUIER, *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Eglise Chrétienne*, u, p. 236 ff.

[4] Published in part by PHILIPPS, WRIGHT, SCHRÖTER, NESTLE.

[5] See the analysis of this work by P. MARTIN in the *Journal Asiatique*, XI (1888), p. 155-219, 401-490.

[6] Edit. by NAU in the *Revue Sémitique*.

[7] A few edited by KAYSER, *Die Kanones Jacob's von Edessa übersetzt und erläutert*, Leipzig, 1886.

verse[1] and translated those of St. Gregory of Nazianzus and the *Festal Homilies* or *Homiliae Cathedrales* of Severus of Antioch[2] as well as his *Octoechus*. A chronicle he had composed in 692 is, unfortunately, lost,[3] as is also the treatise *On the First Creative Cause … which is God*; but his *Enchiridion*, or treatise on technical terms used in philosophy, has been preserved. He composed also the first systematic treatises on Syriac grammar and dealt with orthography and punctuation.[4] If we add to all [327] this a copious correspondence on all kinds of subjects[5] we have some idea of the prodigious activity of this untiring worker.

George,[6] a friend of James of Edessa, was called the bishop of the Arabs because, residing at Akula, he exercised jurisdiction over the Monophysite Arabic tribes. His episcopacy is to be placed in 687 or 688. George was a voluminous writer like his friend. To him we owe *scholia* on the Scriptures and on the homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, several personal homilies, a commentary on the Sacraments, a metrical treatise on the calendar, and particularly a translation of Aristotle's *Organon*,[7] the most important of his works. To these must be added letters, a chronicle (lost), and the end of the Hexaëmeron of James of Edessa, which death had prevented the latter from finishing.

We end here this survey of Christian Syriac literature from the fifth to the seventh century. Rapid and incomplete though it be, it will convey some idea of the great application to the study of the sacred sciences displayed at this period by the Nestorian and Monophysitic communities outside the Church.

2. Armenian Writers[8]

The conversion of Greater Armenia to Christianity took place towards the end of the third century. It was the result of the combined labors of King Terdat (Tiridates), 261-317, and of Gregory, surnamed the Illuminator, an Armenian educated in Cappadocia. Gregory, after being consecrated bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, returned to his native land, began to instruct his fellow countrymen, organized public worship, and founded churches. Up to this time there had been, so to speak, no Armenian literature. Armenian was written with Greek, Syriac, or Persian characters, and only in the fifth century came the invention of an Armenian alphabet, which made it possible to speak of a native literature. Created and cultivated by churchmen, [328] this literature has been from the first exclusively Christian. It was not long in reaching its acme, which it did in the fifth century. But its decline was as rapid as its rise; it began in the sixth and the seventh centuries, which witnessed the perversion of the Armenian Church by Monophysitism, and the steady decay of its activity and intellectual fertility.

Gregory the Illuminator died c. 332. He has been credited with the authorship of a collection of 23 letters and homilies, but it is very doubtful whether he wrote them.[9] As to his history and that of the conversion of Armenia, it has been narrated under the title of *History of the Reign of Terdat and of the Preaching of St. Gregory the Illuminator*, written by a certain Agathangelos, who claims to have been an eye-witness and to have written at the order of Terdat and, consequently, in the first quarter of the fourth century. This is, however, an unacceptable claim. The *History of the Reign of Terdat* was not written before the year 450, or

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[1] The latter edited by Ugolini in the volume *Al Summo Pontifico Leone XIII*, Roma, 1888.

[2] M. Rubens Duval has edited homilies LII to LVII in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, iv, Paris, 1906; M. Brière, homilies LVIII-LXVI, *ibid*., VIII, XII.

[3] Long citation in that of Michael the Syrian, book vii, edited by J.-B. Chabot, Paris, 1899 ff.

[4] Fragments of these writings in Wright, *Fragments of the Syriac Grammar of Jacob of Edessa*, London, 1871. P. Martin, *Jacobi Edesseni Epistola ad Georgium*, Paris, 1869.

[5] A few have been published.

[6] See Ryssel, *Georgs des Araber-Bischofs Gedichte und Briefe*, Leipzig, 1891, where a translation of some of his works will be found.

[7] A few excerpts in Hoffmann, *De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis*, p. 148-151.

[8] See J. Nirschl, *Lebrbuch der Patrologie*, iii, 215-262.

[9] See J. M. Schmid, *Reden und Lehren des hl. Gregorius des Erleuchters*, Regensburg, 1872.

thereabouts, although the author made use of more ancient writings. We are unable to ascertain what author is hidden behind the pseudonym of Agathangelos.[1]

It is only from the fifth century on that we find ourselves on solid ground in the study of Armenian literature. Then appeared two men who were truly its pioneers, Isaac (in Armenian Sahak) the Great, Catholicos of Armenia (c. 390-440), and Mesrop (d. 441). Both knew Greek and Syriac besides their native tongue. One of their first cares was to invent a special alphabet for the Armenian language. This invention was more especially the work of Mesrop. About 410 appeared, in new characters, a complete translation of the Bible from the Syriac, the result of a collaboration of the Catholicos, Mesrop, and a few of their disciples. The version was revised c. 432 according to the Greek text of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. Sahak is the sole author of a manual of liturgy[2] and of a few hymns. Three letters which he addressed to Theodosius II, the patriarch Atticus, and Anatolius, have been incorporated by Moses of Corene in his *History of Armenia* (iii, 57). [329] Mesrop is probably the author of homilies current under the name of Gregory the Illuminator and mentioned above, of penitential hymns for Lent, and certainly of several fifth-century translations into Armenian of Greek and Syriac works which it is impossible to determine in a more precise way. His life was written by his disciple, Koriun, a bishop in Georgia, between 445 and 451.[3]

Mesrop founded a school, and the best writers of the fifth century were either trained by him or influenced by his teaching. We know very little of the two translators, Chosrowig and Ananias, but Eznik is better known. He was a native of Koghb and was sent to Edessa by Mesrop to translate several Syriac writings into Armenian. Thence he went to Constantinople, studied Greek from 426 to about 432, and brought back the acts of the Council of Ephesus and the Greek manuscripts of the Bible which served for the first revision of the Armenian version, made c. 432. Afterwards consecrated bishop of Bagrevand, he assisted at the synod of Aschtischat, in 449. The date of his death is not known.

Eznik is one of the best writers of Armenia, and his style is said to be a perfect example of classical Armenian. He collaborated in the translation of the Bible into Armenian, composed homilies (lost) and undoubtedly also translations from the Greek and Syriac. His most important work, which we possess, is his *Confutation of the Sects*, in 4 books. In Book I he refutes the pagans, and especially the dualists, who believed in two first principles, one bad and one good; Book II is a refutation of Parseeism; Book III attacks Greek philosophy and particularly its astronomical theories; Book IV is directed against Marcion and his pretended possession of a secret explanation of Christianity. At the end of the editions of the *Confutation* is usually found a small collection of 93 maxims ascribed to Eznik: they are the translation of a Greek collection, which is looked upon as the work of St. Nilus.[4]

Another famous disciple of Mesrop was Eliseus the Doctor, who served for a time under the general Vardanes [330] the Mamigonian, then became (perhaps) bishop in the satrapy of the Amatunii, and as such assisted with Eznik at the synod of 449. Towards the end of his life he gave up his see and died an anchorite, c. 480. Many works have been edited under his name the authenticity of which is not always certain, *viz*., commentaries on Josue and the Judges, an explanation of the Our Father, a letter (certainly authentic) to the Armenian monks, rules for the treatment of demoniacs, and many homilies. His most remarkable work is, besides the letter to the monks, his *History of Vardanes and the Armenian War*, in which he records with

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[1] The work of AGATHANGELOS may be found in the Greek and Armenian forms in V. LANGLOIS, *Collection des Historiens Anciens et Modernes de l'Arménie*, I, Paris, 1867, p. 97-193.

[2] See F. CONYBEARE, *The American Journal of Theology*, II (1898), 828-848.

[3] Two recensions are extant; translation of the shorter one in V. LANGLOIS, *Collection* ..., II, 3-16.

[4] The *Confutation of the Sects* has been poorly translated into French by LEVAILLANT DE FLORIVAL, Paris, 1853; The German translation by J. M. SCHMID, Wien, 1900, is much better. V. LANGLOIS, in his *Collection*, n, 369-382, gives the French translation of an excerpt from book II.

the most intense Christian and patriotic feeling the heroic warfare waged against the Persians by Vardanes and the Armenians from 449 to 551.[1]

We may also name, in the fifth century, David the Armenian, the translator of Aristotelian and Neo-Platonist works and himself the author of some philosophical treatises; Lazarus of Pharp, surnamed the Rhetorician, author of a *History of Armenia* from 388-485,[2] which, he says, is a continuation of the narratives of Agathangelos and Faustus of Byzantium, and in which the style is less pure and betrays Greek influence; and, finally, the Catholicos John Mandakuni (d. c. 498), the reputed author of a series of sermons, liturgical prayers, and a penitential canon.[3]

We have still to speak of perhaps the best known, but also the most hypothetical of the historians of ancient Armenia, — Moses of Chorene.

Under the name of Moses of Chorene we possess 3 principal works: a *History of Armenia*, a *Geography of Armenia*, and a *Rhetoric*, also called "*Chria*." The most important of these is the History, in 3 books. Book I covers the period from the origin of the world to the foundation of the Arsacid dynasty, 149 B. C.; Book II brings it up to the death of King Terdat in the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator, c. 332; Book III ends with the extinction of the Arsacids in 428. A fourth book, no longer extant, related the events [331] which took place from this date to the reign of the Emperor Zeno (474-491). If the author of these works — for evidently one person who wrote them all — may be believed, he was a disciple of Mesrop in the fifth century, visited Edessa, Antioch, Alexandria, Byzantium, Athens, and Rome by order of Isaac the Great, and upon his return composed his *History of Armenia* at the request of Isaac (Sahak), a Bagratunic prince who died in 482. However, from the latest critical investigations it is evident that these assertions are unten able. The Bagratunid dynasty, for instance, which in 885 gave a king to Armenia, began to be famous only in the seventh century and one of the aims of our author in his *History* is clearly to glorify its name and deeds. Pseudo-Moses, therefore, in reality did not write till the eighth or ninth century, and we are evidently dealing with an unknown author, who, to give himself an air of authority, antedates his works and presents them under the name of a fifth-century bishop. In spite of this fact, the books are not entirely devoid of historical value. The forger undoubtedly modified the documents he made use of in a very capricious way, giving a large place to poetry and legend; yet he does not completely misrepresent events, and useful information may still be drawn from his work.[4]

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[1] Complete edit. of Eliseus' works, Venice, 1859. The *History of Vardanes* has been translated into French by V. LANGLOIS, *Collection* ..., II, p. 177-251.

[2] French translation by S. GHÉSARIAN, in LANGLOIS, *Collection*, II, 253-368.

[3] German translation of the sermons by T. M. SCHMID, Regensburg, 1871; the penitential canon has been translated by CONYBEARE, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, p. 294, 295.

[4] French translation of the History of Armenia in LANGLOIS, *Collection* ..., II, 45-175. See VETTER'S *art. in the Kirchenlexikon*, 2 edit., and A. CARRIÈRE, *Moïse de Khoren et les Généalogies Patriarcales*, Paris, 1891; *Nouvelles Sources de Moïse de Kh.*, Vienne, 1893, 1894; *La Légende d'Abgar dans l'Hist. d'Arm. de Moïse de Kh.*, Paris, 1895; *Les Huit Sanctuaires de I Armenie Palenne d'apres Agathange et Moïse de Kh.*, Paris, 1899.

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SECTION III

LATIN WRITERS

1. GALLO-ROMANS AND GALLO-FRANKS — THEOLOGIANS, HOMILISTS, AND MORALISTS — ST. CAESARIUS OR ARLES

In the second part of this work (Sec. VI, No. 2), we saw how the monastery of Lerins in Provence, during the first half of the fifth century, was a nursery of remarkable writers as well as one of the strongholds of Semi-Pelagianism. From this retreat came Faustus of Riez.[1] Faustus was a Briton (from the isle of Great Britain) and after completing excellent philosophical and rhetorical studies, devoted himself, while still a young man (c. 426), to the service of God in the monastery of Lerins. In 433, he became abbot, and c. 452, was elected bishop of Riez. In this new capacity, Faustus very soon gained an extraordinary influence by the austerity of his life, the force of his speech, and his zeal for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock. Exiled, c. 478, by the Arian king Eurich for his attacks on Arianism, he was, however, allowed to return to his see after the death of this monarch, in 485. The date of his own death is unknown.

The writings of Faustus were very numerous, but they are not all preserved. Of those which we possess, the most important is the treatise *De Gratia Libri Duo*, written at the request of Leontius of Aries to refute the predestinarian error of the priest Lucidus, c. 474. The author has introduced several Semi-Pelagian propositions into this work. We have also a lengthy treatise, *De Spiritu Sancto*, long attributed to the deacon Paschasius and edited under his name,[2] and a treatise *De Ratione Fidei*, the two parts of which, [333] although very unlike, must probably be identified with the two books mentioned by Gennadius — *Against the Arians and the Macedonians* and *Against Those who say that there is Something Incorporeal in Creatures*. Faustus maintains in this letter that angels and human souls are in a sense corporeal. Ten of his letters, some of which are dogmatic in character, have been preserved. As to his discourses, we certainly do not have them all, and on the other hand there are among those which the most recent editor of his works (Engelbrecht) attributes to him, several which are not his. It is often hard to determine what really belongs to him and what others who borrowed from him, have added or modified in his sermons.

The Semi-Pelagian heresy, which Faustus did not escape, was definitively condemned, in 529, by the second council of Orange, the president and, we may say, the soul of which was Caesarius, archbishop of Aries. St. Caesarius of Arles[3] was, during the first half of the sixth century, one of the most prominent characters of the Gallo-Roman episcopacy. Born at Chalon-sur-Saône, in 470, he entered, like Faustus, the monastery of Lerins, c. 490, but was forced to leave it five or six years later to go to Aries. Eones, bishop of Aries, ordained him deacon, and then priest, and, in 503, chose him as his successor. His episcopate lasted forty years. He died in 543. All this time he unceasingly exhorted his people, succored the poor, watched over Church discipline, restored regularity and piety in the monasteries, and maintained to the limit of his power both material and moral order in the midst of the political turmoil of which Provence was then the theatre. He was especially famous as an orator, — not of the polished and elegant kind, although his style is relatively correct, but a popular speaker, who knows how to talk in a simple, clear, and earnest way to his audience, with picture and familiar comparison, effectively and with unction. His eloquence has

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[1] *P. L.*, LVIII, better edit, in ENGELBRECHT, *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XXI, Wien, 1891. See E. SIMON, *Étude sur Saint Fauste, Évêque de Riez*, Toulon, 1879. A. KOCH, *Der hl. Faustus, Bischof von Riez*, Stuttgart, 1895.

[2] *P. L.*, LXII, 9-40.

[3] Very incomplete edit. of his works in *P. L.*, LXVII. D. MORIN has announced a new edition, which has not yet appeared. He has edited a few new sermons in the *Revue Bénédictine*, XII (1896), XVI (1899), XXIII (1906); a few *opuscula, ibid.*, XIII (1896), XXI (1904), and *Mélanges de Cabrières*, I (Paris, 1899); he has re-edited the *Testament* in the *Revue Bénédictine*, XVI (1899). See A. MALNORY, *Saint Césaire, Évêque d'Arles*, Paris, 1894; M. CHAILLAN, *Saint Césaire* (*Les Saints*), Paris, 1912; P. LEJAY, *Le Rôle Théologique de Césaire d'Arles*, Paris, 1906.

nothing affected [334] or artificial about it: it is spontaneous and draws its strength from the desire of the orator, everywhere conspicuous, to do good to those who listen to him.

The sermons of St. Caesarius have not all reached us, and we are still waiting for a critical and approximately complete edition of those still extant. At present there are supposed to be about 150, but this number will certainly increase. Most of them are addressed to the people; a few were written for monks. Among them we find homilies of a more choice diction on the Scriptures and the Christian mysteries, while others — and they form the majority — are mere *admonitiones* of a purely practical character. The great model followed by St. Caesarius is St. Augustine: he often copied and always imitated that conversational tone which the Bishop of Hippo gave to his instructions.

Besides his discourses, the works of St. Caesarius comprise 2 monastic rules: one for men, *Ad Monachos*, the other for women, *Ad Virgines*, the latter in 2 recensions. They comprise also a few short writings, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* against Semi-Pelagianism, three or four letters, and a *Testament* in letter form to his successor. Several of the canons issued by the councils he presided over (those of the Council of Agde: *Statuta Ecclesias Antiqua*) are also from the pen of Caesarius. Some critics attribute to him also the *Quicumque vult salvus esse*.

Mention has already been made of Faustus' opinion on the corporeity of the soul. This error was energetically refuted in a treatise *De Statu Animae* by the priest Claudianus Mamertus[1] (d. c. 474), brother of St. Mamertus, bishop of Vienne in Dauphine. The work was written between 467 and 472, and is divided into 3 books, the first two of which are devoted to proofs from reason and authority for the spirituality of the soul, while the third refutes the objections raised by Faustus. We have also 2 letters written by Claudianus Mamertus. Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.*, iv, 3) mentions with praise a hymn of Claudianus that has not yet been identified. The other verses ascribed to him are probably, or even surely, unauthentic.

The successor of St. Mamertus in the see of Vienne was Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, a scion of a senatorial family [335] and perhaps a relative of the emperor Avitus.[2] He was born about the middle of the fifth century, and at an early age renounced the world and embraced the monastic life. His reputation for science and sanctity soon became so great that, upon the death of his father, Isicius, or Hesychius, bishop of Vienne, he was chosen as his successor (490). Henceforth he spent all his energy in the service of the Church. Through his influence Sigismund, the Burgundian king (516-523), to whom Vienne was subject, was converted from Arianism to Catholicity; through him the Nestorian, Eutychian, and Semi-Pelagian heresies were uprooted, discipline was restored, and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff more firmly recognized. He even strove to heal the schism between Rome and the East. Avitus was a bishop in the true sense of the word, — a man whose unselfish influence was felt far beyond the confines of his own diocese. Adviser of prelates and princes, he gave proof of some of the administrative qualities which St. Ambrose of Milan displayed before him and which he seems to have inherited from his senatorial ancestry. He died in 518.

St. Avitus contribution to literature comprises first a long poem in 2552 hexameters, entitled *Libelli de Spiritalis Historiae Gestis*, divided into 5 books: *De Mundi Initio*, *De Originali Peccato*, *De Sententia Dei*, *De Diluvio Mundi*, and *De Transitu Maris Rubri*. It is a versification of biblical narratives, but very freely done. A second poem, *De Consolatoria Castitatis Laude*, in 666 hexameters, is addressed to his sister, the virgin Fuscina. The author's verses are correct and often felicitous, and his diction is comparatively pure and elegant. His prose works, however, are inferior. We possess from him, in the form of letters, a refutation of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies (512 or 513) and a refutation of Arianism. His other letters, about

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, LIII, or A. ENGELBRECHT, in *Corp. script. eccl. lat.*, XI, Wien, 1885. See R. DE LA BROISE, *Mamerti Claudiani vita ejusque doctrina de anima hominis*, Paris, 1890.

[2] Works in *P. L.*, LIX, better edit. in *Monumenta Germ. Histor., Auctores Antiquiss.*, VI, 2, or in U. CHEVALIER, *Œuvres Complètes de Saint Avit*, Lyons, 1890. See A. CHARAUX, *Saint Avit, Éveque de Vienne en Dauphiné, sa Vie, ses Œuvres*, Paris, 1876. H. GOELZEK, *Le Latin de Saint Avit*, Paris, 1909.

82 in all, are exegetical, disciplinary, or personal in character. Only two of his homilies have been preserved entire, together with many fragments of others.

Marseilles had one of the most remarkable apologists and moralists of the fifth century, the priest Salvianus.[1] He [336] was born, probably at the end of the fourth century, in the neighborhood of Treves or Cologne, and married Palladia, a pagan, by whom he had a daughter. Through his influence his wife was converted and the two lived together by common consent in perfect continency. About 424, Salvian was ordained to the priesthood and entered the monastery of Lerins. Later, he settled at Marseilles, where he lived to an extreme old age. In 480, he was still living, surrounded by universal esteem and hailed by Gennadius as the *Episcoporum Magister*. He was evidently a very strong, austere, and slightly overbearing man, set in his opinions, with a slight touch of exaggeration and bitterness which reminds us of Tertullian.

Gennadius had read and enumerates[2] 8 or 9 of Salvian's works, but only 9 letters, the *Adversus Avaritiam Libri Quatuor* and *De Gubernatione Dei Libri Octo* remain. The letters are familiar in character; the *Adversus Avaritiam* is an urgent exhortation, a bit exaggerated in doctrine, to sell one's goods and give alms; the treatise, *De Gubernatione Dei*, written between 439 and 451 and dedicated to bishop Salonius, is the author's masterpiece. He answers the wicked and feeble souls who, seeing the evils which befell the best citizens of the Roman Empire and the Empire itself, though Christian, now tottering beneath the blows of barbarian and heretic, cast the blame on Divine Providence, declaring that God is unjust or else cares nothing for human affairs. The author refutes them first of all with arguments from reason, experience, and authority; then, going more deeply into his subject, he shows that the calamities which afflict the Christians and the subjects of the whole empire, are the just judgment for their vices and for the intolerable contradiction which exists between their conduct and their belief. The barbarians are more virtuous than the so-called disciples of Christ, and it is for this reason that God gives them victory. This victory, instead of being an argument against Divine Providence, is a proof of God's justice.

The work of Salvianus is valuable for the information it gives on social and private life in the fifth century. It is [337] noteworthy for its purity of style, which recalls Lactantius, and for the oratorical power which permeates the composition and carries the reader away. Unfortunately, however, the author often lacks restraint, is frequently prolix and gives free rein to his invective, — in a word, he is declamatory and diffuse.

A brief notice will be sufficient for the other writers, both moralists and ascetics, of this period in Gaul. The priest Julianus Pomerius, a native of Africa, who was for some time the teacher of St. Caesarius at Aries (c. 500), composed 8 books on the soul and several works on spirituality, according to Gennadius.[3] There is also extant a work of his, *De Vita Contemplativa*, which treats of the active life and of the practice of the Christian virtues.[4] Aureltanus, bishop of Aries (546-551 or 553), re-arranged and enlarged the 2 rules, *Regula ad Monachos* and *Regula ad Virgines*.[5] St. Remigius, bishop of Rheims (459-533), has left us 4 letters, a *Testament* of dubious authenticity, and a metrical inscription.[6] The collection of his homilies has been lost. The two bishops, Ferreol of Uzès (d. 591) and Sedatus of Béziers (c. 589), have to their credit respectively a *Regula ad Monachos*[7] and a few homilies.[8]

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, LIII, or Fr. Pauly, *Corp. Script. Eccl. Latin.*, VIII, Wien, 1883. See L. Méry, *Études sur Salvien*, Marseille, 1849. G. Valran, *Quare Salvianus Presbyter Massiliensis Magister Episcoporum a Gennadio dictus sit*, Paris, 1899.

[2] *Vir. Ill.*, 67.

[3] *Vir. Ill.*, 95.

[4] *P. L.*, LIX, 415-520.

[5] *P. L.*, LXVIII, 385-408.

[6] *P. L.*, LXV, 963-975.

[7] *P. L.*, LXVI, 959-976.

[8] *P. L.*, LXXII, 771-774.

2. HISTORIANS AND HAGIOGRAPHERS — GREGORY OF TOURS

The first historian we must name here is Gennadius of Marseilles,[1] the author who has so often informed us about the writers of the fifth and even of the sixth century. Scarcely anything is known of his life. Note 97, added to his *De Viris Illustribus* by another hand, says that he was a priest of Marseilles and was still living in the time of Pope Gelasius (492-496). It also gives an enumeration (incomplete) of his writings: *Adversus Omnes Haereses Libri VIII*, *Adversus Nestorium Libri V, Adversus Eutychen* [338] *Libri X, Adversus Pelagium Libri III, Tractatus de Mille Annis Apocalypsis, De Viris Illustribus,* and *Epistola de Fide mea Missa ad Beatum Gelasium*. His *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, still extant, is perhaps to be identified with the *Epistola de Fide mea* or is a conclusion to the *Adversus Omnes Haereses* and the *De Viris Illustribus*.[2] The *De Viris* is the continuation of the catalogue of St. Jerome bearing the same title and is composed in the same form and on the same principles. There we find 97 or even 98 notes on writers from the second half of the fourth to the end of the fifth century. The work was written from 467-480 and, it would seem, in a discontinuous way. Critics agree in recognizing Gennadius as a serious historian, usually impartial in spite of his Semi-Pelagian bias. They look upon his work as one of the most valuable sources for the knowledge of ancient Christian literature. The bibliographical part of his notices is more reliable than the biographical data, for as a rule he has read the writings of which he speaks.

Cyprian, bishop of Toulon, and Massianus, another disciple of St. Caesarius, have left an interesting *Life* of their master, completed shortly before his death, in 542 or 549.[3]

Passing from Southern Gaul to the Neustrian Franks, we find there shortly after this period a writer who may be called the Father of French history, — St. Gregory of Tours. Gregory[4] was born, probably at Clermont in Auvergne, November 30, 538, of a senatorial family. His [339] original name was Georgius Florentius, and it was through veneration for his great-grandfather, St. Gregory of Langres, that at a later period he adopted the name of Gregory. He received a pious and careful training at the hands of his uncle Callus, bishop of Clermont, and a priest named Avitus; but he suffered from bad health and, becoming dangerously ill, in 563, made a pilgrimage to Tours, where he obtained the much desired cure at the tomb of St. Martin. Ten years later Gregory was at the court of Sigbert I, king of Neustria, when he was chosen to succeed Bishop Euphronius in the see of Tours. The new bishop fully answered the expectations which had been built upon him. Devoted to his people, working both for their material and spiritual welfare, energetic in defending the interests of the Church against Chilperic, honored by Sigbert and Childbert for his holiness and ability in state affairs, exerting far beyond the confines of his diocese an influence which he owed as much to his personal qualities as to the importance of his see, then the religious center of Gaul, Gregory won the affection of his flock and the esteem of all Gaul, which beheld in him one of the great bishops she needed so much in the terrible crises through which she was passing. St. Gregory died November 17, 593 (or 594).

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, LVIII. Critical editions of the *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum* by E. H. TURNER, in *Journal of Theolog. Studies*, VII (1906), 78-99, and of the *De Viris* by C. RICHARDSON, Leipzig, 1896 (*Texte und Unters.*, XIV, I). The student will remark that the first work has undergone notable interpolations.

[2] D. MORIN has added four chapters to this book as belonging to the work of Gennadius from the *Indiculus de Haeresibus* of Pseudo-Jerome; Œhler, *Corpus Hærcseologicum*, I, p. 279 ff.

[3] *P. L.*, LXVII, 1001-1042, and *Monum. Germ. Hist., Script. Rer. Merov.*, III (1896), 433-501.

[4] Works in *P. L.*, LXXI, better edition by W. ARNDT and BR. KRUSCH, *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, Hannover, 1884-1885. The *Liber de Miraculis D. Thomae Apostoli*, in M. BONNET, *Acta Thomae* (*Suppl. Cod. Apocryphi*, I, Lipsiae, 1883); the *Passio SS. Martyrum septem Dormientium*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XII (1893), 371-387. Edit. and French transl. of his works or only of the *Historia Francorum* by GAVDET and TARANNE (Société de l'Histoire de France), 1836-1838; H. L. BORDIER, 1857-1864; 1859-1861; GUIZOT, 1823 and 1861. See A. DUPUY, *Vie de Saint Grégoire, Éveque de Tours*, Paris, 1854. A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, *De l'Autorité de Grégoire de Tours*, Paris, 1861. G. MONOD, *Études Critiques sur l'Époque Mérovingienne*, I, 1872 (*Biblioth. de l'École des Hautes-Études*, fascic. 9). M. BONNET, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, Paris, 1890.

Though St. Gregory's episcopate was crowded, he found time to compose 8 works of guaranteed authenticity: a book *On the Psalter*, of which only a few fragments remain; an other written in 575-582, *De Cursibus Ecclesiasticis*, which determines from astronomical observations the order to be followed in the recitation of the divine office and the lessons it comprises; a third (lost), compiled from the "Masses" of Sidonius Apollinaris; a Latin translation of the *Passio SS. Martyrum Septem Dormientium apud Ephesum;* a *Liber de Miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli;* and his two most important works, the *Hagiographical Collection* and the *Historia Francorum*.

The *Hagiographical Collection*, as the word indicates, is not a separate book, but rather a collection of writings composed at different periods, having no other bond than the general identity of the subject treated, which the author collected and revised before his death. It comprises 8 books: I, *De Gloria Martyrum*, written c. 590, a narrative of the miracles of Christ, the Apostles, and certain martyrs of the Church of Gaul; II, *De Virtutibus* [*i.e., Miraculis*] *Sti* [340] *Juliani*, of Brioude (d. c. 304), written in 581-587; III and IV, the 4 books *De Virtutibus S. Martini*, the composition of which extended throughout the entire episcopate of Gregory and which relate only the contemporary wonders performed by this miracle-worker; VII, *Liber Vitae Patrum*, containing 23 biographies of holy bishops or monks of Gaul; and VIII, *De Gloria Confessorum*, finished in 587 and modified after 590, an account of the miracles performed by various holy bishops, priests and laymen.

The *Historia Francorum*, in 10 books, is Gregory's most important work and the one which has made him famous. The author wished to record for future generations the events of his own time, and to write some kind of personal memoirs. This character, however, appears only towards the end of the fourth book. Book I is a rapid sketch of the world, from Adam to the death of St. Martin, in 397; Book II treats more particularly of Clovis; Book III embodies the history of the Franks down to the death of Theodebert I (548); Book IV continues it to the death of Sigbert (575); Books V and VI cover the years 575-584; and Books VII-X the years 584-591. The first 4 books were written, it is thought, in 575; the fifth and sixth, in 580-585; the others, as the events they relate took place.

It cannot be said that the *Historia Francorum* is a well written history according to the canons of historical criticism. General surveys are entirely wanting, and the connection of events is purely external; nowhere does the author enter into a study of the causes and their consequences, nor does he even dream of subordinating the less important to the more important events, for the length of the development he devotes to each of them is determined solely by the more or less detailed knowledge he happens to possess or the personal interest they happen to have for him. Thus the work lacks depth and proportion. In spite of this fact, however, it affords interesting and pleasant reading and is of value, not only because it is for us the only source whence we can learn the events which it relates, but because it fascinates the reader by its natural, fresh, and straightforward style. General and abstract ideas are completely banished, the characters are depicted concretely with all the intensity of their ambitions, hatred, and passions. Furthermore, Gregory is always sincere, impartial, and truthful. There are undoubtedly many gaps and errors in his book: the [341] author has sometimes failed to gather information on circumstances with which he should have been better acquainted, and has, on the other hand, personal preferences which he does not conceal; yet all this has not hurt the objectivity of his narrative. He has faithfully related things as he knew them.

Naturally, Gregory's style, like that of his time, is not exactly classical. He himself admits that he confuses genders and cases and does not use the proper prepositions, — in a word, that he is a "*rudus*" in literature. However, we must not take him too literally in this. Gregory certainly had made excellent studies, and if he does not write better, it is because people could not well do so in the surroundings in which he lived. In any case, his style is a valuable sample of the language of this period of transition, when Latin was gradually yielding before the Roman influence.

At the end of these paragraphs devoted to Gallic historians we must make room for a Breton historian, St. Gildas, surnamed the Wise, who probably lived and wrote in Armorica. His personality is highly enigmatic, and critics have wondered if several writers may not have existed under this name. Be this as it

may, we have under the name of Gildas a work in 3 books, *De Excidio Britanniae*, written c. 560.[1] It draws a gloomy picture of the ruin of insular Britany after the withdrawal of the Romans and is at the same time a philippic, in Salvian mood, against the vices of kings, clerics, and the Breton people. The style is poor, and the accusations are too violent to be always just.

3. Poets — St. Apollinaris Sidonius

The poems of St. Avitus of Vienne have already been mentioned; they are exclusively Christian in character. Quite otherwise are those of Apollinaris Sidonius; not that they are, as Tillemont has said, "always pagan and sometimes altogether idolatrous and wicked," but they treat more often of profane and jocular subjects and borrow their figures and expressions from pagan mythology.

Caius Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius[2] was [342] born at Lyons, November 5, 431 (or 432), of a family belonging to the highest nobility of Gaul. After studying rhetoric, philosophy, history, and law, he married, c. 452, the daughter of the future emperor Avitus, of Clermont in Auvergne. In 456, 459, and 468, he delivered the panegyrics of the emperors Avitus, Majorian, and Anthemius, respectively; in 468, he became prefect of Rome; and in 471, after a retreat of three years on his estates, was elected bishop of Clermont. Until now his life had been that of a Christian lord; henceforward it is that of a shepherd entirely devoted to his ministry. One of St. Sidonius' greatest cares was to prevent Auvergne from falling under the yoke of the Arian Visigoths. He did not succeed, but endeavored, by the influence which his talent and rank gave him, at least to lighten the burden for his Catholic diocesans. His death occurred probably on August 21, 489.

The preserved works of St. Sidonius comprise 2 collections, one of poems, the other of letters. The verses, gathered by the author himself, between 468 and 471, consist of 80 metrical pieces, the principal of which are the 3 panegyrics mentioned above, a Eucharistic poem addressed to Faustus of Riez, and poems to Pontius Leontius and Consentius of Narbonne. A few other poems are found cited in his letters. The collection of letters, also compiled by Sidonius, is divided into 9 books, which the author published successively: Book I in 477, then Books II-VII, then Book VIII, and finally Book IX. It contains mainly personal letters, several of which were addressed to the best known bishops of his time and are valuable for the historical information they afford.

In publishing his works in this way, Sidonius' purpose was to do what he could to save Latinity by opposing to the crude language of the invaders a monument, however humble, of Roman literary culture. For him the Roman Empire, civilization, and orthodoxy were one against heathen and Arian barbarity and the first duty of a Christian and a bishop was to protect them against the ruin which threatened them. As a rule, however, the literary productions, and especially [343] the poetry of Apollinaris Sidonius, have been severely criticized. He has been accused of abuse in the use of mythology, of frivolity in the selection of subjects, and poverty of ideas amidst a prodigality of words. These accusations, however, need to be qualified. Sidonius is neither a "pagan" nor an "idolater"; he is a serious and sincere Christian, who is altogether chaste in what he writes and for whom mythological imagery is nothing more than imitation and convention. On the other hand, if there are in his poetical collection many insignificant pieces — nice little verses having no other purpose than to please, — there are others, his panegyrics for example, in which the author had a higher purpose in view, and presented a strong plea under the guise of conventional praise. Sidonius misfortune was rather to have possessed too great a facility for versification and to have been unable to refuse his friends who asked him to exercise his talent. This is why his verses are nearly always witty compositions rather than the product of true poetical inspiration. He aims less at naturalness than at the merit there is in overcoming a difficulty, and the numerous reminders of Statius, Claudianus, and Virgil,

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[1] *P. L.*, LXIX, 327 ff., better edit. by Mommsen in *Monumenta Germ. Historica, Auctores Antiquiss.*, XIII, I, Berlin, 1898. See J. Fonssagrives, Saint Gildas de Ruis et la Société Bretonne au VI^{e} siècle, Paris, 1908.

[2] Works in *P. L.*, LVIII, better edit. by Chr. Luetjohann in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Auctor. Antiquiss.*, VIII, Berlin, 1887. French transl. by J. F. Grégoire and F. Z. Collombet, Lyons and Paris, 1836. See L. A. Chaix, *Saint Sidoine Apollinaire et son siècle*, Clermont and Paris, 1867. P. Allard, *S. Sidoine Apollinaire*, Paris, 1910 (*Les Saints*).

while they testify to his extensive reading, also prove that memory played a great part in the rapidity of his composition.

As to the letters of Sidonius, his friend Ruricius of Limoges found them sometimes obscure. Paul Allard, however, does not hesitate to say that those who criticise them too harshly thereby show that "they have read them hastily and incompletely." In this writer's estimation they are a very valuable contribution to the history of the time, and from this point of view can be compared with those of St. Augustine himself.[1]

Side by side with the profane poetry of Sidonius we find religious poetry cultivated at this period by two authors, Paulinus of Pella and Paulinus of Périgueux. The first, born c. 376, seems to have been a grandson of Ausonius, came to Gaul at the age of three and, in 459, at the age of eighty-three, composed his *Eucharisticos Deo sub Ephemeridis meae Textu*, an autobiography in the form of a thanksgiving to God, in 616 hexameters. The prosody is incorrect, but the sentiments expressed are beautiful and touching.[2] The second is the author of a long poem (3622 [344] hexameters) in 6 books on St. Martin, *De Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi Libri VI*, which contains the *Life of St. Martin* and the *Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus*, together with information concerning the miracles of the Saint furnished the author by Perpetuus, bishop of Tours (458-488). The work seems to have been completed c. 470. A little later Paulinus wrote an account in verse of the miraculous cure of his grandson and an inscription for the basilica of St. Martin. Paulinus of Périgueux was better acquainted with the art of versification than his namesake of Pella, but he is lengthy and profuse.[3]

A century later, St. Martin found another poet to celebrate his memory in Fortunatus. Venantius Fortunatus[4] was born, c. 530, in northeastern Italy, near Treviso, and studied grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence at Ravenna. As the result, probably, of the miraculous cure of a disease of his eyes, obtained through the intercession of St. Martin, he set out for Tours, c. 565, to visit his patron's tomb. He tarried two years at the court of Sigbert, whose favor he won, then travelled by short stages as far as Tours, becoming acquainted with all the persons of standing whom he met and interesting them by his verses. From Tours he came to Poitiers, where Radegundis, the widow of Chlotar I, had founded the monastery of the Holy Cross, to which she had retired, her adopted daughter Agnes being the abbess. The religious and literary commerce of these pious women detained the poet. He settled at Poitiers, was ordained priest, and became the chaplain of this religious community. Towards the end of his life, he was chosen bishop by the people of the city; but his episcopate did not last long, as he must have died in the first years of the seventh century.

The principal collection of Fortunatus' poems, *Carmina* or *Miscellanea*, compiled by himself, comprises 11 books, which we possess only incompletely. They contain for the most part short occasional pieces, which have no other interest [345] than that they inform us of the daily life of their author. There are among them, however, more considerable works of a higher inspiration. Foremost among these are the 2 hymns, *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt* and *Pange Lingua Gloriosi*, in honor of the Cross; an elegy written at the request of Radegundis on the fall of the royal house of Thuringia, *De Excidio Thuringiae*, and a few more. Besides this first collection of verses Fortunatus composed, at the instance of Gregory of Tours, a long poem (2245 hexameters) in 4 books on the life of St. Martin, in which he makes use of the accounts of Sulpicius Severus and the poem of Paulinus of Perigueux. This work was written before 576. Lastly, we have a few prose writings: an exposition of the Our Father, an explanation of the Apostles' Creed (included in the *Carmina*, x, 1; xi, 1) and *Lives* of St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Marcellus of Paris (d. 436), St. Albinus of Angers (d. 560),

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[1] See P. ALLARD, *S. Sidoine Apollinaire*, pp. 196 sq.

[2] Edit. W. BRANDES in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XVI, Wien, 1888. See I. ROCAFORT, *De Paulini Pellaei Vita et Carmine*, Bordeaux, 1890.

[3] Works in *P. L.*, LXI, 1009-1076, and in M. PETSCHNIG, *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, XVI.

[4] Works in *P. L.*, LXXXVIII, better edit. by FR. LEO and BR. KRUSCH, *Mon. Germ. Histor., Auctores Antiquiss.*, IV, Berlin, 1881-1885. See F. HAMELIN, *De Vita et Operibus V. H. Cl. Fortunati Pictav. Episc.*, Rennes, 1873. CH. NISARD, *Le Poète Fortunat*, Paris, 1890.

St. Paternus of Avranches (d. 563), St. Germanus of Paris (d. 576) and St. Radegundis (d. 587). Other biographies current under his name are attributed to him erroneously.

Fortunatus was evidently an extraordinarily gifted poet. He excels in describing the minor events of every-day life, and from this point of view his poems are very instructive. But, except in a few pieces, sentiment and thought are superficial, and we find in his style all the affectation and turgidity of periods of decline. On the whole, his work is more religious than that of Apollinaris Sidonius; it is less spoiled by mythological pleonasms. On the other hand, it remains, as we have already had occasion to remark, inferior in purity and correctness of diction. Between these two authors a century had elapsed during which barbarism was steadily advancing.

4. African Writers — Theologians, Exegetes, Canonists — St. Fulgentius

Since the year 439, Roman Africa had fallen completely under the power of the Vandals. These were Arians, and their kings, Genseric (d. 477), Huneric (477-484), and Thrasamund (496-523) — especially the first two — severely persecuted the Catholics. Hence there took place in African Christian literature at this time a renaissance of polemics against Arianism. This is evident from the writings of [346] Eugenius, bishop of Carthage (480-505),[1] Cerealis, bishop of Castellum in Mauritania Caesariensis (c. 485),[2] Antoninus Honoratus,[3] bishop of Cirta in Numidia, and of the bishops Victor of Cartenna,[4] Asclepius[5] and Voconius of Castellum.[6] The works of the last two have perished. The *De Poenitentia Publica* and *Ad Basilium quendam super Mortem Filii* are perhaps extant.[7]

To this same cycle belong also the writings of Vigilius, bishop of Thapsus,[8] who assisted, February 1, 484, at a public disputation held at Carthage between Catholics and Arians. Under his name have been printed 9 treatises, of only 2 of which he is the undoubted author: a dialogue *Contra Arianos, Sabellianos et Photinianos*, and 5 books *Contra Eutychetem*. He himself, however, mentions 2 treatises which he wrote, but which have not yet been identified: a book *Against the Arian Marivadus* and *Against the Arian Palladius*.

To this same controversy belong also, in great part, the works of him who in the sixth century was the best theologian in the West, — St. Fulgentius.

St. Fulgentius[9] was born in 468 at Telepte in Byzacena, of a wealthy family and received a very careful education. He had already begun to take part in worldly affairs, when little by little there awoke in his soul the desire to embrace the monastic life. This he put into execution, first in several monasteries of Africa. Then he tried in vain to enter Egypt, landed in Sicily, and returned by way of Rome to Africa, where he founded a new monastery. Here he was reluctantly made bishop of Ruspe (507 or 508). He remained but a short time in this little town. Exiled to Sardinia by King Thrasamund, together with more than sixty other Catholic bishops of Byzacena, he formed with [347] them a kind of permanent theological council, but was unable to return to his see in Africa until the accession of Hilderic, in 523. He died in 533.

St. Fulgentius had a penetrating, clear, and vigorous mind, capable of handling the most abstract questions and of throwing abundant light upon them. He was well grounded in S. Scripture and tradition, and knew

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1 *P. L.*, LVIII, 769-771; Victor de Vita, *Historia Persecutions*, II, 3, 14; III.

2 *P. L.*, LVIII, 757-768.

3 *P. L.* L, 567-570.

4 Gennadius, *De Vir. Ill.*, 77.

5 *Ibid.*, 73.

6 *Ibid.*, 78.

7 The *De Paenitentia* is to be found among the works of St. Ambrose (*P. L.*, XVII, 971-1004); the letter *De Consolatione in Adversis* among the works of St. Basil (*P. G.*. XXXI, 1687-1704).

8 Works in *P. L.*, LXII. See G. Ficker, *Studien zu Vigilius von Thapsus*, Leipzig, 1897.

9 Works in *P. L.*, LXV. See the article by Fessler-Jungmann, *Instit. Patrol.*, II, 2, p. 398-428.

how to use them to support his solutions. He was thoroughly versed in the writings of St. Augustine and so faithfully reproduced his doctrine on grace that he has been rightly called "*Augustinus abbreviatus*." His talent, however, was of only secondary rank, and the great esteem he enjoyed in his own time and in the following centuries is attributable to the fact that those centuries were destitute of really superior men. His style is less pure and less polished than that of the writers of the fourth century, but clear and easy; his compositions are often lengthy and diffuse.

St. Fulgentius wrote theological treatises, letters, and sermons.

Almost all his theological treatises deal with three questions: the Trinitarian question against the Arians, the question of grace against the Semi-Pelagians, and the question of the Incarnation, often treated in connection with one of the two others.

Against the Arians, St. Fulgentius wrote, c. 515, the treatise *Contra Arianos*, to answer the ten questions proposed to him by Thrasamund; and then the books *Ad Thrasamundum Regem Vandalorum*, in reply to new objections of the king, which seem to have been drawn from the mystery of the Incarnation. To this same period belong also a treatise (lost) *Adversus Pintam*[1] and a short treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, represented by two fragments. Later, St. Fulgentius composed the *De Trinitate ad Felicem Notarium*, the *Contra Sermonem Fastidiosi Ariani ad Victorem*, and 10 books *Contra Fabianum Arianum*, of which 39 precious fragments are still preserved. The *De Incarnatione Filii Dei et Vilium Animalium Auctore ad Scarilam* is an exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine, but not aimed directly at the Arians.

The complaints of the Scythian monks against the teach ing of Faustus of Riez first drew St. Fulgentius into the [348] discussion of questions of grace. Consulted by them, the Catholic bishops exiled in Sardinia answered, c. 521, through the Bishop of Ruspe: this is the origin of the *Epistola XVII*, better known under the title of *Liber de Incarnatione et Gratia Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*. Still in Sardinia and at about the same time, Fulgentius wrote the 3 books *Ad Monimum*, the first of which deals with predestination, and the 7 books *Contra Faustum*. On his return to Africa (after 523) he composed the 3 books *De Veritate Praedestinationis et Gratia Dei ad Ioannem et Venerium*, and finally the *Epistola Synodica XV* of the twelve African bishops, which is directed against the Semi-Pelagians.

Besides his writings on grace, there remain two works to be mentioned: *De Remissione Peccatorum ad Eutychium Libri II*, in which the author proves that we can do penance only in this life, and the *De Fide seu de Regula Verae Fidei ad Petrum*, a clear and exact compendium of the truths in which we must believe in order to belong to the true Church.

We have also 13 letters of St. Fulgentius, several of which — two we have already cited — are short treatises. Six of these deal with dogmatic and the seven others with moral questions. Of the sermons attributed to him only ten are regarded as authentic. They treat of the mysteries of our Lord and the virtues of the saints.

The Arian controversy naturally abated in Africa when Belisarius defeated the Vandals and restored this province to the Empire in 533. But just at this time the policy of Justinian brought up another theological question, — that of the Three Chapters. After much opposition and discussion, the fifth general council, in 553, and Pope Vigilius settled it by condemning the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and some writings of Theodoret and Ibas, The Africans, in general, opposed as far as was in their power a condemnation which they took to be contrary to tradition and not very respectful towards the Council of Chalcedon.[2] Ardent defenders of this opinion were Fulgentius Ferrandus, Victor of Tunnuna, of whom we shall speak later, and Facundus of Hermiane, a sturdy pamphleteer and author of a work *Pro Defensione Capumarum*, in 12 books, a *Liber contra Mocianum Scholasticum*, and an *Epistola Fidei Catholicae in*

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[1] The work edited under this title, *P. L.*, LXV, 707-720, is not authentic.

[2] See H. Leclercq, *L'Afrique Chrétienne*, Paris, 1904, II, 258 ff.

Defensione Trium Capitulorum, [349] the last two written, c. 571.[1] This was also the stand of Bishop Pontianus (we do not know his episcopal see) in his Letter to Justinian;[2] of Verecundus, bishop of Junca in Byzacena (d. 552) and author of *Excerptiones de Gestis Chalcedonensis Concilii, Commentariorum super Cantica Ecclesiastica Libri IX* (on 9 Old Testament canticles), and a penitential poem, *De Satisfactione Poenitentiae*, in 212 hexameters,[3] and finally of the deacon Liberatus, of Carthage, who, between 560 and 566, wrote his *Breviarium Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, one of the best sources for the history of Nestorianism and Monophysitism from 428-553.[4]

Premasius, bishop of Hadrumetum, (d. before 567), who was at Constantinople in 553, seems to have shared for a while the opinions of the Africans, for he signed the first *Constitutum* of Vigilius of May 14, 553; however, he after wards accepted the decision of the Council. At any rate he wrote nothing on the question, but is known only as an exegete. We have from him a commentary on the Apocalypse, mostly citations from St. Augustine and the Donatist Tychonius.[5] We know, too, that he used his influence to induce Junilius to write his *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*. Junilius was a layman and a native of Africa, who held the high official position of *Quaestor Sacri Palatii* at Constantinople. His *Instituta* form an introduction to the study of the Scriptures. He gives them as a re-arranged translation of a work by Paul of Nisibis, but in reality the subject matter and the conclusions reproduce the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia. On account of its methodical clearness this little volume had very great success in the West.[6]

The deacon, Fulgentius Ferrandus, of Carthage, was a disciple, perhaps also a relative, of St. Fulgentius, and, some think, his biographer. Ferrandus (d. before 547) passed [350] for one of the best theologians in Africa. Apart from the *Vita S. Fidgentii*, he left about a dozen letters, seven of which deal with theological questions, and a *Breviatio Canonum*, in which, under 232 titles, he gives a summary of ecclesiastical discipline according to the canons of the Greek and African councils.[7] This work of Ferrandus, the first of its kind known in Africa, was cited and later completed by a certain Cresconius, thought to be an African bishop, who composed a *Concordia Canonum*, in 300 titles, based on the texts of Dionysius Exiguus. This work was composed before the eighth century, but we are unable to fix more accurately the date of its compilation.[8]

5. Historians and Poets — Victor de Vita

Victor, bishop of Vita in Byzacena, composed a history of the persecutions of the Vandals in Africa, *Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae Temporibus Geiserici et Hunerici Regum Vandalorum*.[9] It was written in 486, scarcely two years after the end of these events. It is some times divided into 5 and sometimes into but 3 books, the first describing what took place under Genseric, up to 477, the two others dealing with the reign of Huneric (477-484). Victor often speaks from hearsay or from documents foreign to the persecution of Genseric, and consequently the information he gives is scanty and lacks precision; but having

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[1] *P. L.*, LXVII, 527-678.

[2] *P. L.*, LXVII, 995-998.

[3] Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesmense*, iv, Paris, 1858. See L. Vernier, *La Versification Latine Populaire en Afrique, Commodien et Verecundus*, in the *Revue de Philologie*, xv (1891), p. 117-130.

[4] *P. L.*, LXVIII, 969-1052.

[5] *P. L.*, LXVIII, 793-936. The commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, which precedes the commentary on the Apocalypse in Migne, is not the work of Primasius.

[6] *P. L.*, LXVIII, 15-42. Better edit. by H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Afrikanus als Exegeten*, Freiburg im B., 1880.

[7] *P. L.*, LXV, 117-150; LXVII, 887-962; A. Reifferscheid, *Anecdota Casinensia*, 5-7. For the *Breviatio Canonum*, see F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Liter. des kanonischen Rechts im Abendlande …*, I, Graetz, 1870.

[8] *P. L.*, LXXXVIII, 829-942.

[9] *P. L.*, LVIII, 179-260, better edit. by C. Halm in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiqu.*, iii, i, Berlin, 1879. See F. Ferrere, *De Victoris Vitensis Libro qui inscribitur Historia*, etc., Paris, 1898. Id., *Langue et Style de Victor de Vita* in the *Revue de Philologie*, xxv (1901), 110-123, 320-336.

been an eye-witness and probably a victim of the persecution of Huneric, he gives such authentic information that his account of it is an historical document of the first order. His style is unpolished and much akin to popular Latin, but it is vivid and full of emotion.

Two works usually appended to the *Historia* of Victor are neither part of it, nor from his pen at all. The first is the *Passio Beatissimorum Martyrum qui apud Carthaginem Passi sunt sub Impio Rege Hunerico*, 483; the second, a [351] *Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Africae*, in which the sees of the bishops convoked at Carthage for the conference of February 1, 484, are classified according to their respective provinces.

Eighty years after the death of the Bishop of Vita, c. 568, another Victor, bishop of Tunnunum or Tunnuna in Northern Africa, wrote a *Chronicle*, in imitation of St. Prosper's, covering the period from the beginning of the world to the year 567. Only the last and most interesting part, from 444 on, dealing especially with African events, has been preserved.[1]

Side by side with the historians, we may mention the poets. Verecundus of Junca, whose exegesis is better known than his verses, has been cited above. After him, or rather before him, we know of another, Aemilius Dracontius, who flourished under Gunthamund, king of the Vandals (484-496).[2] Dracontius belonged to a wealthy African family and had himself gained distinction in juridical circles when he was imprudent enough to sing the praises of the Byzantine emperor in a poem. The king of the Vandals looked upon this as treason. The poet was cast into prison, and it is not known whether he ever came out. While a prisoner, he composed two beautiful poems, *Satisfactio* and *Laudes Dei*, or *Carmen de Deo*. The first is an elegy, in 158 distichs, in which the author acknowledges the fault into which he was permitted to fall on account of his sins, praises the mercy of God, who forgives the repentent sinner, and exhorts King Gunthamund to show himself merciful towards him. The poem was undoubtedly brought to the King's notice, but the prayer remained unheeded. *Satisfactio* was followed by a longer work in 3 books, which also proclaims the goodness and mercy of God, as revealed, first, in the creation (757 verses), then in the Incarnation and mission of Jesus Christ (818 verses); and concludes that we must therefore be grateful to God and have unswerving confidence in Him (755 verses). At an early date the first book was in separate circulation under the title of *Hexaëmeron Creationis Mundi*.

Dracontius was a true poet, who had a keen sense of [352] nature's beauties and was able to pour out his feelings of love and thanksgiving to God in choice rhapsodies, or rather "hymns full of lyrical effusions." He endeavors to imitate the classics, but his verses are less correct than those of St. Avitus or of Marius Victorinus of Marseilles, though they show at times greater harmony and more splendor. His descriptions are charming.

6. Italian Writers — Less Important Authors

The popes from St. Leo to St. Gregory the Great, 461-590 (excepting John I, Silverius, and Benedict I), all left letters or decretals.[3] The most numerous are those of Gelasius (492-496), Hormisdas (514-523), Vigilius (537-555). and Pelagius I (555-560). Among the decretals ascribed to Gelasius we must mention the decree *De Recipiendis et non Recipiendis Libris*, which in reality comprises 5 parts: *De Spiritu Sancto, De Canone Scrlpturae Sacrae*, *De Sedibus Patriarchalibus*, *De Synodis Oecumenicis* and *De Libris Recipiendis*. The first two parts belong to a synod held under Pope Damasus, very probably in 382, and the last, if it be the work of Gelasius, has been interpolated. Gelasius is also the author of 6 treatises referring

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[1] *P. L.*, LXVIII, 937 ff.; Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, ii, 163 ff. in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiqu.*, xi, Berlin, 1894.

[2] Religious poems in *P. L.*, LX, 679-932. Complete edit, by Fr. Vollmer, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiqu.*, xiv, Berlin, 1905. See G. Boissier, *L'Afrique Romaine*, Paris, 1901, p. 309 ff.

[3] *P. L.*, LVIII ff. For the period extending from St. Hilarius to Hormisdas (461-523), edit. A. Thiel, *Epistolae Roman. Pontificum Genuinae*, Brunsbergae, 1868. See also S. Loewenfeld, *Epistolae Pontif. Roman. Ineditae*, Lipsiae, 1885.

mostly to the Acacian schism, which divided the Greek Church from the see of Rome; they are of importance for the history of dogmas.[1] The so-called *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* is not his work.[2]

Among the authors we are now to mention, there are some whose writings are of real interest for one branch or another of theological science; none, however, achieved sufficient literary renown to detain us long.

At the head of this list we may place Magnus Felix Ennodius.[3] Ennodius, born c. 473, was a native of Southern Gaul, but made his studies in Milan, probably taught rhetoric [353] there, and, after a few years of married life entered the ranks of the elegy. In 513 he was made bishop of Pavia. He died in 521.

Ennodius was an elegant writer, who loved to imitate the classics, but failed to attain perfect clearness of style. He handled both profane and religious subjects and made his mark as a cultured and distinguished bishop. His works are of four kinds: *Epistolae, Opuscula, Dictiones* (discourses), and *Carmina*. His letters are arranged in 9 books; they were all written before his episcopacy and seldom refer to religious subjects. Among his 10 *opuscula* must be mentioned a panegyric on Theodoric (507 or 508), a *Libellus Apologeticus pro Concilia Palmari*, in defence of the Roman synod of 502, which had upheld Pope Symmachus, a Life of St. Epiphanius of Pavia (c. 503), a life of St. Antony of Lerins, and a kind of autobiography in which the note of thanksgiving prevails — *Eucharisticum de Vita Sua*. He wrote 29 *discourses*, only 7 of which are on Christian subjects. Finally, his *poems* are divided into 2 books, the first of which includes 21 and the second 151 pieces. There we find hymns which celebrate the mysteries of our Lord and the virtues of the saints, metrical inscriptions for basilicas and sepulchres, as well as many purely profane compositions.

In the time of Ennodius sacred eloquence is represented by Laurentius, surnamed "*Orator Mellifluus*," in whom some see the bishop of Novara of the same period. Two of his homilies are extant.[4]

Liturgical science is represented by John, a deacon of Rome, author of an epistle important for the history of the ceremonies of baptism.[5]

In 529 St. Benedict (b. at Nursia, in 480; d. at Monte Cassino, 543) wrote his *Rule*, which was destined to be, from the eighth to the thirteenth century, the rule of life of almost all Western monks.[6]

A little later, Victor of Capua (d. 554) dealt chiefly with exegesis; his chief work is a *Gospel Harmony*, which is a re-arrangement of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.[7] [354]

Dionysius Exiguus[8] had already begun the composition of the canonical works that were to make him famous. Dionysius, a Scythian by birth, was a monk who came to Rome, c. 500, where he lived until 540, employed chiefly in writing Latin translations and collecting the disciplinary documents which had appeared before his time. Cassiodorius, who knew him well, praises his erudition and speaks of him as a saint. It is thought that the title *Exiguus* is a name he chose out of humility. His works comprise a few Latin translations from Greek literature, a collection of notices on the formula *One of the Trinity has suffered in the Flesh*, several collections of canons and decretals, and a work on the ecclesiastical computus.

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[1] See THIEL'S edition.

[2] Edited in *P. L.*, LXXIV and by H. A. WILSON, Oxford, 1894.

[3] Works in P. L., LXIII, 13-364, and edit, by W. HARTEL in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, VI, Wien, 1882. See ST. LÉGLISE, *S. Ennodius et la Suprématie Pontificale au VIc Siècle*, Lyons, 1890. P. FR. MAGANI, *Ennodio*, Pavia, 1886. A. DUBOIS, *La Latinité d'Ennodius*, Paris, 1903.

[4] *P. L.*, LXVI, 89-124.

[5] *P. L.*, LIX, 399-408.

[6] *P. L.*, LXVI, 215-932. Critical editions by E. SCHMIDT, 1880; E. WÖLFFLIN, 1895, and D. BUTLER, 1912.

[7] *P. L.*, LXVIII, 251-358; 1097, 1098; I. B. PITRA, *Spicileg. Solesmense*, I, Paris, 1852; *Analecta Sacra*, I, Paris, 1888.

[8] Works in *P. L.*, LXVII and *Spicilegium Casinense*, I, 1893, p. 1-189. See J. M. VERSANNE, *Denys le Petit et le Droit Canonique dans l'Église Latine au VIc Siècle*, Villefranche, 1913.

For the ecclesiastical computus he insisted on the adoption of the Alexandrine cycle of nineteen years, in preference to the different other cycles in use among the churches, to determine the date of Easter. He rejected the Diocletian era and the era of the foundation of Rome, and began reckoning the years from the birth of Christ, which he placed in 754 A.U.C. Slight errors crept into his calculation which have since been corrected.

On ecclesiastical discipline Dionysius composed 3 distinct collections: (1) A Latin collection of the decrees of Greek and Latin councils and synods, beginning with the Apostolic Canons, continuing with those of Nicea, Ancyra, Neo-Caesarea, Gangres, Antioch, and Chalcedon, and ending with those of Sardica and the different councils of Africa. This work was done from 500-510. (2) A collection of papal decretals from Siricius (385-398) to Anastasius II (496-498). It contains only 38 letters, and consequently is very incomplete. The author has seemingly taken note only of the most important pieces. This second collection was made during the reign of Pope Symmachus (498-514); it was later united with the first work and the two together formed the *Collectio Dionysiana*. (3) Finally, at the request of Pope Hormisdas (514-523), Dionysius compiled a third collection, from which he excluded the Apostolic Canons, giving only the canons of the Greek councils and synods, with the Greek text opposite the Latin. This last collection has been lost. Imperfect as it was, the canonical work of [355] Dionysius was an enormous improvement on previous digests of this kind and, although it had no official character, it soon enjoyed high authority.

We shall speak later of the historical works of Cassiodorius; let us mention here a few chroniclers or biographers less well known.

The Abbot Eugippius, a native of Africa and, after the year 500, superior of a convent at Naples, wrote in 511 a *Vita S. Severiani Monachi* (d. 482), which is a document of the first order and throws a vivid light on the religious and political situation of these countries in the sixth century. To Eugippius we also owe some *Excerpta ex Operibus S. Augustini*, ascetical in character and very much read during the Middle Ages.[1]

Towards the year 535, Marcellinus Comes, an Illyrian, composed a *Chronicle*, chiefly of the events of the Eastern Empire, for the years 379-534. It was continued by another writer to the year 548.[2]

About fifteen years later, Jordanes made considerable use of it. He also abridged the book of Cassiodorius, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, and wrote a summary of universal history, the second part of which is exclusively a history of Rome, *De Summa Temporum vel de Origine Actibusque Romanorum*, 551.[3]

Finally, between 581 and 593, Marius, bishop of Lauzanne, wrote a sequel to the chronicle of St. Prosper, adding notices from 455 to 581;[4] while an anonymous author of Placenza wrote the account of a pilgrimage to Palestine, c. 580 (*Itinerarium Antonini* or *Anonymi Placentini*).[5]

There was, however, a history which was to interest the Church more than that of the ancient Romans or the kings of the Goths, namely that of the popes. A Roman cleric of humble station undertook to write it under the pontificates [356] of Anastasius II (496-498) and Symmachus (498-5 14), completing his work under Boniface II (530-532). This is the famous *Liber Pontificalis*,[6] subsequently carried on by other hands to the reign of Hadrian II (d. 872), and even further. It is a series of biographical sketches which give for each pope his origin, the date and duration of his pontificate, his disciplinary decrees, the edifices and

[1] *P. L.*, LXII, and KNOELL, in *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat*., IX, 1-2, Wien, 1885-1886. See A. BAUDRILLART, *Saint Séverin Apôtre du Norique*, Paris, 1908 (*Les Saints*).

[2] *P. L.*, LI and TH. MOMMSEN in *Chronica Minora*, II, *Monum. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquiss*., XI, Berlin, 1894.

[3] Edit. MOMMSEN, *Mon. Germ. Hist.. Auct. Antiquiss*., V, I, Berlin, 1882.

[4] *P. L.*, LXXII; MOMMSEN, *Chronica Minora*, II, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiqu*., XI.

[5] *P. L.*, LXXII, 899-918, better edit. P. GEYER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, in *Corp. Script. Eccl. Latin*., XXXIX, 1898, p. 157-218.

[6] Edit. L. DUCHESNE, *Le Liber Pontific*., text, introd. and commentary, Paris, 1886-1892. BIANCHINI's former edit, is in *P. L.*, CXXVII-CXXVIII.

institutions he founded, the number of ordinations he performed, the time and place of his burial, etc. The reliability of this information naturally varies with the sources used, for the last five popes it is of the first order. The author has adopted the language of the people and makes no attempt at fine writing.

We have yet to speak of the poets. Ennodius has been dealt with. In the first part of the sixth century we find a Rusticus Helpidius, sometimes identified with the deacon Helpidius, who was physician to King Theodoric. He is the author of a poem, in 149 hexameters, entitled *De Christi Jesu Beneficiis*, written in elegant style but affectations to obscurity, and also of a collection of 24 inscriptions of three verses each, intended to explain the biblical paintings of the Old and New Testaments to which they were affixed.[1]

Better known is the deacon Arator,[2] formerly a lawyer and comptroller of finances under Athalaric, who found patrons in Ennodius and Pope Vigilius. Arator took for his model the poet Sedulius, and set to verse the Acts of the Apostles. His poem is in 2 books (2326 hexameters) and, at the request of his literary friends, was read publicly by him, in 544, in the Church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. This was a decided honor for a composition which numbers so few fine verses and which, though it exhibits here and there passages full of movement and life, forsakes history for exaggerated allegorism, and is, as a whole, heavy and awkward. Arator also left us an *Epistola ad Parthenium* (51 distichs), addressed to one of his friends, to whom he sent this poem to remind him of the studies they had made together. [357]

7. Boethius and Cassiodorius

Whatever opposition we may discern between the minds of Boëthius and Cassiodorius, we cannot separate them, since, as contemporaries and friends, they followed the same career at first and became through their writings as it were the "Teachers of the Middle Ages," which made them objects of admiration and gratitude.

Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boëthius[3] was born in Rome, c 480. He belonged to the ancient family of the *Anicii*, and this circumstance, joined to his personal qualities and to an excellent education, in the course of which he had acquired a thorough knowledge of Greek literature, won for him the esteem of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, then master of Rome. He was made consul, in 510, at the age of thirty, and had the joy of seeing his two youthful sons assume the same dignity in 522, so that he might well have believed his fortune securely established, when the suspicious cruelty of Theodoric dashed it to pieces. Boëthius' enemies accused him of magical practices and, what was more serious, of maintaining suspicious relations with the Byzantine court. This was enough to have him thrown into prison at Pavia and put to death, in 524 or 526. If he was not a martyr, properly so-called, his Catholic faith was at least partly responsible for the unjust treatment to which he was subjected by the Arian king.

Boëthius was a powerful thinker, inclined to abstract speculation and fond of metaphysics and logic. He was not, however, exclusively a philosopher shut up in the realm of ideas. He was at the same time a scholar, a littérateur, a poet on occasion, an orator when necessary, and always a man of the world and a gentleman. The language of "the last of the Romans," as he is called, though not free from affectation, is pure and elegant, and far superior to that of his time. It has been asked whether he was a Christian otherwise than in name, and whether an author who, when face to face with death, wrote a whole treatise *De Consolations Philosophiae*, without any appeal to religion or any [358] mention of Jesus Christ, might be numbered among the writers who shed lustre upon the Church. Some have answered in the negative. Yet in the first place the Christian note is not so entirely absent from the *De Consolatione* as would at first appear; and, furthermore, we must make allowance for the particular bent which habitual association with philosopheres gave to the mind of Boëthius. A lifelong philosopher, he may, at the approach of death, have sought motives

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[1] *P. L.*, LXII, 543-548; new edit, by W. Brandes, Brunswick, 1890.

[2] Works in *P. L.*, LXVIII, 63-252.

[3] Works in *P. L.*, LXIII, LXIV. See L. C. Bourquard, *De A. M. Boetio*, Angers, 1877. L. Biraghi, *Boezio, Filosofo, Theologo ...*, Milan, 1865. H. F. Stewart, *Boethius*, Edinburgh, 1891. A. Hildebrand, *Boethius und seine Stellung zum Christentume*, Ratisbon, 1885.

of resignation in philosophy, without renouncing his Christian convictions. In this he was but following a tradition common to the men of his type and time.

The works of Boëthius may be listed in 3 categories: philosophical, theological, and the treatise *De Consolatione*, the last he wrote.

To the first category belong about 20 works, most of which are translations and commentaries on treatises of logic, or personal compositions on the same subject. The most remarkable of these are the second commentary, written in 507-509, on the *De Interpretatione* attributed to Aristotle, and the translation and 5 books of commentaries of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, written c. 510 and considered a classic by the Middle Ages. Boëthius had resolved to translate and explain in this way all the works of Aristotle and Plato, and to show how these two great geniuses are in general agreement regarding the solution of the fundamental problems of philosophy. He was able to realize his plan only for Aristotle's works on logic, but in doing even this much, he placed the study of Aristotle within the reach of the West and thus became the inaugurator of Scholasticism.

Boëthius theological works comprise 4 short dissertations, written by the author towards the end of his life: *De Sancta Trinitate; Utrum Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus de Divinitate Substantialiter Praedicentur?; Quomodo Substantiae in co quod sint, Bonae sint, cum non sint Substantialia Bona?;* and *Liber de Persona et Duabis Naturis contra Eutychen et Nestorium*. The authenticity of these 4 dissertations is certain, whereas that of a fifth and shorter one, *De Fide Catholica,* is contested.

Finally, while in prison, Boëthius wrote his *De Consolatione Philosophiae Libri V*, the best known of his works. It is written in dialogue form, with short metrical pieces interspersed here and there in the prose composition. In Book I, Philosophy appears to the author and asks him the [359] cause of his grief. Boëthius explains how and why he has been thrown into prison, and expresses some doubt of Divine Providence, whose government does not seem to extend to man. Book II treats of fate and fortune, the vicissitudes of which we must accept all the more readily, as the seat of true happiness is in the interior of man and does not depend on his external condition. Book III is a dissertation on the *summum bonum*, which indeed exists, but is not to be identified with riches, or honor, or power, or pleasure; — these are imperfect goods; it is God, towards whom all things tend, however unconsciously. In Book IV he returns to the question of Providence. Why, in this world, are the wicked happy and prosperous, whereas the righteous go without reward? Philosophy contests the truth of this general assertion and shows that order is re-established in the future life. The sufferings of the just are frequently a necessary or useful trial. Finally, Book V treats of chance and the foreknowledge of God. Boëthius establishes the harmony of the latter with the free will of man. The whole work is Neo-Platonic in inspiration, tainted with Stoicism, and reads easily and interestingly, thanks to the numerous poems — in themselves little masterpieces — which counteract the dryness natural to an abstract subject. Its success in the Middle Ages was phenomenal. Very few books have been translated and commented upon so often.[1]

Boëthius was a speculative author; Cassiodorius was predominantly practical, writing, so to speak, under the pressure of necessity and bent on preserving for future ages the monuments of the classical and Christian culture threatened with ruin amidst universal barbarism. He was less of a philosopher than a scholar, with knowledge more extensive than deep, aiming first at utility. Nevertheless, literature is infinitely indebted to him. It is he, indeed, who first introduced intellectual work into the life of the monks, as he taught them to copy and correct manuscripts, side by side with psalmody and prayer, thus making the monasteries the sanctuaries of art and learning when all other doors were closed to them.

[1] See L. DELISLE, *Anciennes Traductions Françaises de la Consolation de Boèce Conservées à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ... in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1871, tom, XXXIV, 5-32.

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorius Senator,[1] as he was [360] called in his own day, was born at Scylliacum, in what is now Calabria, c. 477. His family had held very high positions in the State, and he himself, when only twenty years of age, was named private secretary to King Theodoric, who placed entire confidence in him. In 514, he was appointed consul, and for three successive terms served as prefect of the pretorium. Unlike Boëthius, Cassiodorius was favored by fortune even under the successors of Theodoric; but he deliberately turned his back on the world. In 540 he retired to the monastery of Vivarium (Viviers), which he had founded on his estates in Calabria and, after donning the monastic habit, devoted himself completely to the study of ecclesiastical science and to the reforms with which he purposed to insure its diffusion. He died, c. 570, at the age of ninety-three.

The writings of Cassiodorius are divided, like his life, into two distinct parts: profane and ecclesiastical or religious.

The first class, written before the year 540, comprises: (1) A *Chronicle*, composed in 519, reaching back to the creation of the world, but being mainly a list of the consuls, to which he added a certain number of historical notices taken from St. Jerome and St. Prosper. From the year 496, Cassiodorius speaks from personal knowledge exclusively and reveals his desire to reconcile the Romans with their Gothic conquerors. (2) A history of the Goths, *De Origine Actibusque Getarum*, in 12 books, in which this purpose is still more pronounced. Of this work, composed between 526 and 533, we retain only the superficial compendium made in 551 by Jordanes. (3) Twelve books of *Variae* (*Litterae*), published between 534 and 538. This is a collection of some 400 rescripts, issued by Cassiodorius in the name of the Gothic kings, or in his own name, the formulas of which became classical in the chanceries of the Middle Ages. (4) Some panegyrics on the kings and queens of the Goths, which have perished with the exception of a few uncertain fragments. (5) A short treatise, *De anima* (535-540), in which he solves, chiefly according to St. Augustine and Claudianus Mamertus, various difficulties relative to the soul.

The most important of the works published by Cassiodorius in his retreat bears the title of *Institutiones Divinarum et Saecularium Lectionum*. It was composed, c. 544, in [361] 2 books. Book I contains 33 chapters and is a methodical introduction to the study of the different theological sciences, with the foremost place accorded to Holy Scripture. The author speaks of the transcription of manuscripts and the care with which this work should be performed, of the authors who should preferably be consulted on the Bible, dogmatic theology, ecclesiastical discipline, and history, and of the course to be followed in order to profit by these readings. These indications were intended to supply in some measure the deficiency of a theological school, which Cassiodorius ardently desired to see established in the West, but which the political situation made impossible for the time being. Book II, which is often quoted as a separate work, *Liber de Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum*, contains brief sketches of the current teaching on the seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

Next in importance after the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorius — a work which the scholars of all centuries have loved to consult — is his *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, in 12 books, the success of which was also very great. The work is, however, slightly superficial. Cassiodorius first induced his friend Epiphanius Scholasticus to translate into Latin the three *Histories* of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, which he afterwards combined into one work, drawing now from one, now from another of these writers the subject-matter of his narrative, and completing the account of each with details taken from the other two. The *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* is thus a Western continuation of Rufinus.

Besides these two principal writings, we have from our author also a voluminous commentary on the Psalms, *Complexiones in Psalmos*, completed after 544, and based on the *Enarrationcs in Psalmos* of St. Augustine; commentaries on the Epistles, on the Acts of the Apostles, and on the Apocalypse, unknown to the mediaeval world; and a small treatise, *De Orthographia*, written near the end of his life, as a supplement

[1] Works is *P. L.*, LXIX, LXX; H. Usener, *Anecdoton Holderi*, Bonn, 1877. See A. Franz, *M. A. Cassiodorius Senator*, Breslau, 1872. G. Minasi, *M. A. Cassiodoro Senatore*, Naples, 1895.

to the *Institutiones*. We know that Epiphanius made several Latin translations of Greek works and others undertaken at the instigation of Cassiodorius. In this way the latter endeavored to place within the reach of Western students the masterpieces they were unable to read in the original text, and to furnish them through the information and handbooks he placed at their disposal, the means to [362] preserve among themselves at least the essentials of sacred learning.

8. St. Gregory the Great[1]

The same year that Cassiodorius forsook the world, probably in 540, there was born at Rome one who was to be read and revered even more than he by the scholars of the following centuries. St. Gregory the Great forms the connecting link between Christian antiquity and the Middle Ages, and his services won for the papacy, even in temporal affairs, the influence it was destined to wield in its golden age. Gregory belonged to a rich and noble family, and himself at first chose an administrative career, becoming prætor when about thirty years old. Gradually, however, he became fascinated with the ascetical life, and towards 575, renounced the world, sold his goods, built seven monasteries with the revenue, and became a monk in the one he had founded on the Coelian Hill in Rome. His stay there was of short duration. Not long afterwards Pope Benedict I (574-578) made him a regionary deacon, and, in 578, Pelagius II sent him as apocrisarius or nuncio to the court of Constantinople. There he remained six or seven years and, when his mission was ended, came back to his monastery, in 584 or 585. After Pelagius had died (February 7, 590) the unanimous choice of the senate, clergy, and people fell upon Gregory. Notwithstanding his reluctance he had to accept the papacy. His pontificate lasted only fourteen years, but there was not a moment of this time which was not employed in the interests of the Church. Quite apart from his continual efforts to maintain the faith in the West, — fighting heresy, leading back to Catholic unity the schismatic bishops of Istria, and enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, — Pope Gregory reformed official prayers and organized the liturgical chant, gave aid to the poor, remedied the sad consequences of famine and pestilence, and endeavored to avert from Rome [363] and the imperial possessions the threatened invasion of the Lombards. Through his zeal, Augustine and his monks went out to evangelize Great Britain. In the East he maintained friendly relations with the patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria and joined him in combating the Monophysitic and Nestorian heresies. He repressed the errors of the Agnoëtae and opposed with even greater success the pretentions of John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, who had arrogantly usurped the title of ecumenical patriarch. Of Gregory it may well be said that nothing escaped his vigilant eye and apostolic zeal. His attention was devoted in a particular manner to the maintenance of integrity of doctrine, the edification of the clergy and faithful, the evangelization of the heathen, and the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people. When he died, March 12, 604, all could bear witness that he had led the life of the ideal shepherd whose portrait he had drawn in his *Regula Pastoralis*.

The intellectual quality which stands out pre-eminently in St. Gregory seems to be sound common sense, tantamount in his case to genius, always suggesting to him the best course to follow and enabling him to keep the right measure in everything. Although not as great a theologian as St. Leo, he possessed to a remarkable degree the art of governing; he was a Roman of temperate character, always avoided excesses and never attempted the impossible. While on the one hand he watched with jealous care over the purity of the faith, on the other hand he was averse to branding mere imprudent words or actions as heresies. He was exacting in matters of discipline but, before issuing a command or meting out punishment, always tried warning and exhortation. He was fully aware of the plenary authority vested in his person as the successor of St. Peter, and knew how to assert it when necessary, yet did not make a display of it, and rejected the pompous titles some would thrust upon him. In his dealings with princes, even if they were usurpers, he was always respectful and full of deference; with the Lombards he was satisfied with little, knowing that

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[1] Works in *P. L.*, LXXV-LXXIX. Better edition of the Letters by P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann in *Monum. Germ. Hist., Epist.*, I-II, Berlin, 1891-1899. French transl. of the *Dialogues* by Cartier, Paris, 1875. See Ed. Clausier, *Saint Grégoire le Grand, Pape et Docteur de l'Église*, Paris, 1886, 1891. F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, London, 1905. T. Tarducci, *Storia di Gregorio Magno*, Rome, 1909. G. Morin, *Les Véritables Origines du Chant Grégorien*, Tournai-Maredsous, 3rd edit, 1912.

not much was to be obtained from them. We may add to all these virtues a great love of justice, which, in case of necessity, caused him to espouse the cause even of Jews and heretics, an extraordinary capacity for work in a body weakened by suffering and illness, burning zeal for souls, and an ardent [364] desire for his personal sanctification. It is the union of all these qualities and virtues that made Gregory one of the greatest popes that ever occupied the chair of Peter.

From the point of view of literary excellence, he was quite inferior, to judge by the external expression in which he clothes his thoughts. Gregory showed indifference or disdain for the classics and pagan authors and had not the slightest desire of imitating them. However, although he bowed to the prevailing taste for subtle allegory, antithesis, and playing on words, his style is usually marked by a dignified simplicity well suited to the author s character and in refreshing contrast with the turgidity and affectation so common at that time. The vocabulary and grammar of his works are those of the period of decline; yet they do not prevent him from giving his thoughts clear and forcible expression. It is above all by the doctrine that we must judge his somewhat heavy and rather commonplace eloquence.

The works of St. Gregory include commentaries and homilies on S. Scripture, ascetical writings, a *Registrum Epistolarum*, and liturgical compositions.

1. Commentaries and Homilies. — Here we have to mention 3 works: the *Moralium Libri*, the homilies on Ezechiel, and the homilies on the Gospels.

St. Gregory was apocrisarius or nuncio at Constantinople when he began his commentary on Job, *Expositio in Librum Job sive Moralium libri XXXV*. He undertook this work at the request of St. Leander, archbishop of Seville. It is very long and was completed only after the year 590. Gregory intended to give a threefold interpretation of the Book of Job, *i.e*., historical, typical (or allegorical), and moral; in point of fact, however, so much space was given to the development of the moral aspect that the whole work assumed the name of *Moralia*, and may be considered as a complete compendium of Christian ethics. The author remarks that his book is not suitable reading for the faithful in general. The 22 homilies on Ezechiel, in 2 books, were written in 593 and deal, the first (*Hom*. 1-12) with Ezechiel i-iv, the second (*Hom*. 13-22) with Ezechiel xl. Better known than these 2 works are his *Homilies on the Gospels*. There are 40 of them, divided into 2 books of 20 homilies each, and forming a complete course of sermons for the entire year. Gregory, it is thought, delivered them or had them read in the year 590-591 and published them himself in 592 or 593. [365] Most of these homilies — the familiar and serious talks of a father to his children — were later incorporated in the liturgical lectionaries and still have a place in the Roman Breviary.

2. Ascetical Writings. — To the ascetical writings of St. Gregory belongs first of all the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis,* written c. 591, and dedicated to John, bishop of Ravenna. In it the author seeks to justify his resistance to the election to the Holy See by explaining the onerous duties incumbent upon the pastors of souls. In the first part he describes the requisites for the pastoral office ("*ad culmen quisque regiminis qualiter veniat*"); in the second, the virtues a shepherd of souls must cultivate and put into practice ("*ad hoc rite perveniens qualiter vivat*"); in the third and most important part, the manner of instructing and directing the various classes of the faithful ("*bene vivens qualiter doceat*"); in the fourth and last part, he briefly invites the pastor to frequent self-introspection ("*recte docens infirmitatem quotidie quanta consideratione cognoscat*"). The work met with the greatest success; it was translated into Greek and Anglo-Saxon, and many councils recommended its study to the priests in charge of souls.

Whereas the *Regula Pastoralis* was meant directly only for the clergy and superiors of monasteries, the 4 books of *Dialogi*, written by Gregory in 593, were addressed to all Christians and are a popular work of edification. In the first 3 books the author relates a series of miracles and deeds of extraordinary virtue, performed by holy persons living in Italy, which he himself had witnessed or ascertained on good authority. The second book is entirely devoted to the miracles of St. Benedict. In the fourth book St. Gregory dwells particularly on those miracles that prove the survival of the soul after death. The *Dialogues* found even more readers in the Middle Ages than the *Regula*, thanks to the attraction for the wonderful then so prevalent.

3. Letters. — It would not be fair, however, to judge St. Gregory by his dialogues. If we wish to have an adequate idea of what he was as pope and pastor of the universal Church, we should read the *Register* of his letters. Here he reveals the full power and flexibility of his mind as well as his knowledge of government. We possess 848 of these letters, arranged chronologically in 14 books according to the indications. But this is only the remnant of a far more [366] extensive correspondence, much of which has been lost. The majority of the letters extant have been preserved in a selection made under Hadrian (772-795) for the use of the Emperor Charlemagne.

4. Liturgical Writings. — Under the name of St. Gregory are current two liturgical works, a *Sacramentarium* and an *Antiphonarium*. Although he certainly did some work on these books, they did not emanate from his pen in their present form. Our texts of the *Sacramentarium*, in particular, are all derived, more or less directly, from the copy sent by Hadrian to Charlemagne (between 784 and 791), which had already undergone several modifications and developments.[1]

St. Gregory was also the organizer of what is known as the *Gregorian Chant*, in opposition to the *Ambrosian Chant*. We must not, however, regard as authentic the few hymns which have been attributed to him, any more than the commentaries on the First Book of Kings, the Canticle of Canticles, and the Penitential Psalms, and the *Concordia quorumdam Testimoniorum S. Scripturae* which is to be found at the end of his works.

9. Spanish Writers — St. Isidore of Seville[2]

Among the Roman provinces of the West, Spain was one of those that suffered most from the invasions of the barbarians during the period we are now studying, and the one whose condition was the most unstable. From about the year 409, Alains, Suevi, Vandals, Goths, Bagauds, and Herules in turn invaded its territory and disputed its possession among themslves. About 476, the country was divided among the Visigoths and the Suevi, the latter holding only the smaller part, *viz*., Galicia and a slice of Lusitania. In 585 the kingdom of the Suevi disappeared completely under the blows of Leovigild, and the Visigoths remained sole masters until their empire was destroyed by the Arabs, in 712.

Some of these events are known to us through the *Chronicle* of Hydatius, a native of Galicia and, from 427, bishop of Aquae Flaviae (Chaves). This *Chronicle*[3] covers the [367] period from 379 to 463 or 470 and is divided into 2 parts. The first, 379 to 427, continues the *Chronicle* of St. Jerome and is compiled from both oral and written sources; the second, from 427 to 470, records the personal reminiscences of the author. The *Chronicle* of Hydatius is of capital importance for the history of Spain, and particularly of Galicia, in the fifth century.

A century later another Spaniard of Gothic origin, John, abbot of the monastery of Biclaro and later (591) bishop of Gerona, wrote a sequel to the Chronicle of Victor of Tunnuna, covering the period from 567 to 590.[4] This work is valuable for the knowledge of the Visigothic domination, — less precious, however, than the History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi by St. Isidore of Seville, of which we shall soon speak.

Exegesis is represented very meagerly in Spain at this time by Apringius, bishop of Beja, author (c. 540) of a commentary on the Apocalypse, some fragments of which are extant;[5] and by Justus, bishop of Urgel (d. after 546), who has left us a brief explanation of the Canticle of Canticles.[6]

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[1] Excellent edit. by H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, Oxford, 1915.

[2] See D. H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne Chrétienne*, Paris, 1906.

[3] *P. L.*, LI, 873-890, and LXXIV, 701-750; Th. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, II, 13-36 in *Monum. Germ. Histor., Auctor Antiquiss*., XI, Berlin, 1894.

[4] *P. L.*, LXXII, 859 ff.; and Mommsen, *loc. cit*., 163 ff.

[5] Edit. by D. Férotin, Paris, 1900.

[6] *P. L.*, LXVII, 961-994.

Three brothers of Justus, also bishops, are mentioned by Isidore of Seville[1] as having also published some works. The best known of these brothers seems to have been Justinian (d. after 546), bishop of Valencia, author of a dogmatic work mentioned by Isidore, the *Liber Responsionum ad Quemdam Rusticum de Interrogate Quaestionibus*. This work is perhaps not entirely lost, for, according to some critics, the substance of it at least may be found in the treatise *De Cognitione Baptismi*[2] of St. Ildephonsus of Toledo, which would thus be only an arrangement of the *Liber Responsionum*.

In the controversy with the Arians, orthodoxy found a champion in Severus of Malaga, the opponent of Vincent, Arian bishop of Saragossa. He was the author of a treatise on virginity, entitled *Annulus* and dedicated to his sister. Nothing is left of this work. [368]

We come now to the greater names. As shown above, the territory of the Iberian peninsula was at one time divided between the Visigoths and the Suevi. At the outset the Suevi were Catholics; but their king, Remismund, went over to the Arians and his people followed him, c. 466. About a century later they were led back to the Catholic fold by St. Martin of Bracara.[3] Martin, like his namesake of Tours, was born in Pannonia, became a monk in Palestine, and came, we know not why or how, to Galicia. There we first find him as abbot of a monastery; later, in 563, as bishop of Dumio, near Bracara; and in 572, as archbishop of Bracara. It was in the year 560 that, yielding to his entreaties, Miro, king of the Suevi, professed the Catholic faith and Catholicity began to reclaim the entire population. Gregory of Tours thinks that Martin was one of the most learned men of his time. His books evince a certain classical culture. To St. Martin of Bracara we owe: (1) A *Formula Vitae Honestae*, the most interesting of his compositions, the purpose of which is to expose to King Miro, at his own request, the principal precepts of the natural law, grouped under the four cardinal virtues, — prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice; (2) A treatise entitled *De Ira*, a compendium of the *De Ira* of Seneca; (3) Three other closely connected treatises, — *Pro Repellanda Iactantia*, *De Superbia*, and *Exhortatio Humilitatis*, entirely Christian in inspiration; (4) *De Correctione Rusticorum*, full of precious details on the moral and religious life of the peasantry in his day; (5) Two collections of ascetical maxims, — *Aegyptiorum Patrum Sententiae and Verba Seniorum*, — translated from the Greek, the first by St. Martin himself, the second under his super vision by Paschasius, a monk at Dumio; (6) A collection of 84 Greek or Western canons, an epistle *De Trina Mersione*, which decries as Sabellian the Spanish custom of plunging the person to be baptized only once in the piscina, a little work *De Pascha* and a few verses. A volume of letlers mentioned by St. Isidore[4] has perished.

What St. Martin of Bracara did for the Suevi, St. Leander[5] did for the Visigoths. Leander was the eldest son of [369] a certain Severianus, a native of the province of Carthagena, who was compelled, probably by the Byzantine conquest, to emigrate to Seville. Severianus had three sons, Leander, Isidore, and Fulgentius, all future bishops, and one daughter, Florentina, who entered a convent near Astigi (Eciga).[6] Leander was first a monk. As such he took a prominent part in the conversion to Catholicity of Leovigild's eldest son, Hermenegild (c. 579), and went to Constantinople to seek help for him in his war against his father. About 584, he was raised to the see of Seville and, after the death of Leovigild (586), became one of the most prominent personages of the Visigothic church. It is not exactly known what personal share Leander had in the conversion to Catholicity of Leovigild's second son, Reccared (587); it was he, however, who prepared the great manifestation to which that conversion gave rise and, in fact, directed the famous Council of Toledo (May, 589), in which the whole Visigothic nation, represented by its king and princes, abjured

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[1] *Vir. Ill.*, 33, 34

[2] *P. L.*, XCVI, 111-172.

[3] Works partly in *P. L.*, LXXII; the *Verba Seniorum*, *ibid.*, LXXIII, 1025-1062; the *Ægyptiorum Patrum Sententiae*, *ibid.*, LXXIV, 381-394; the *Capitula Martini*, *ibid.*, LXXXIV, 574-586; CXXX, 575-588.

[4] *Vir. Ill.*, 35.

[5] *P. L.*, LXXII, 873-898.

[6] Comparatively recent authors say that Theodosia, the first wife of Leovigild and mother of Hermenegild and Reccared, was another sister of Leander and Isidore. Were this the fact, it would be surprising that the contemporaries, and especially St. Isidore, should not have alluded to it.

Arianism and declared itself Catholic. Leander spent the rest of his life in governing his diocese and helping King Reccared, whose counsellor and friend he always remained, to govern his people. He died in 600 or 601. St. Isidore[1] ascribes to him 3 treatises against Arianism, liturgical writings, and numerous letters; but there are extant only 2 writings from his pen, — *Homilia de Triumpho Ecclesiae ob Conversionem Gothorum*, delivered at the Toledo Council in 589, and *Ad Florentinam Sororem de Institutione Virginum et Contemptu Mundi Libellus*. The latter, a short work, comprises a letter of introduction and 21 chapters with rules for nuns. It is written in an easy and pleasant style, with a mixture of force and tenderness, of zeal and discretion, which explains the great influence the author exerted during his lifetime.

The literary fame of St. Leander was, however, eclipsed by his brother and successor in the see of Seville, St. Isidore.[2] Very few details of his episcopate are known. In [370] 610, he subscribed to the decree of King Godemar concerning the metropolitan rank of the see of Toledo. In 619, he presided over a council at Seville, and, in 633, over the fourth and great Council of Toledo, which solemnly recognized the rights of King Sisenand. This was the last great event of his life. Three years later, in 636, he died with admirable sentiments of penance and humility.

St. Isidore was looked upon by the Spaniards of his time as the wonder of the age. Less than twenty years after his death the eighth council of Toledo proclaimed him "the great doctor of our age, the most recent ornament of the Catholic Church, last in order of time but not least in doctrinal teaching, and, to be more exact, the most learned scholar of these latter days." There is some exaggeration in this praise, but it can be explained by the mediocrity of the writers with whom the Bishop of Seville was being compared. In reality, Isidore is neither creative nor original, — at least he gives no proof of it; but his erudition is extensive. He is above all a compiler, "perhaps," as Ebert says, "the greatest compiler that has ever been." He deliberately undertook to compile a summary of all human knowledge available at his time, and bequeathed to the Middle Ages, which had already begun, a sort of encyclopedia containing an epitome of the learning of pagan and Christian antiquity. His work is superficial, made up of documents and fragments gathered from all quarters; yet it bespeaks enormous research, extensive information, and a mind in thorough sympathy with the needs of his time. Add to this the ability to make his thought clear to others, a style rapid though spoiled by an excessive use of (about 1640) foreign words, and you will understand the admiration of which the author was the object, and the success with which his works met in the following years. With Boëthius, Cassiodorius, and St. Gregory, St. Isidore was the teacher of the Middle Ages and one of the writers who exerted the greatest influence upon this period.

His works contain all kinds of compositions: repertories, history, exegesis, theology, liturgy, ascetics and correspondence. [371]

1. Repertories. — The most considerable and the best known writing of this kind is the one which bears the title of *Etymologiae* or *Origines*. Isidore compiled it only a short time before his death, and it was probably Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, to whom he had sent the manuscript, who published it and divided it into 20 books. It is a summary of all the knowledge preserved at that time in all branches of learning. At the beginning of each book is indicated the subject or subjects to be treated; then, in each subject, the author examines the various words relating to it, gives their etymology, and develops their meaning. These etymologies are often fantastic; for instance, *nox* is derived from *nocere* and *amicus* from *hamus*; but they play only a secondary part, — the essential thing is the explanations which follow, and which interest the reader in what the author wishes to teach him. In this way Isidore treats successively *De Grammatica, De Rhetorica et Dialectica, De Quatuor Disciplines Mathematicis, De Medicina, De Legibus et Temporibus, de Libris et Officiis Ecclesiasticis, De Deo, Angelis et Fidclium Ordinibus, De Ecclesia et Sectis Diversis*,

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[1] *Vir. Ill*., 41.

[2] Works in *P. L*., LXXXI-LXXXIV. Edit, of the *Etymologies* by W. M. LYNDSAY, 1911; of the *Chronicle* and the *Historia Gothorum* by TH. MOMMSEN, *Chronica Minora*, II, in *Monum. Germ. Hist*., *Auct. Antiqu*., XI, Berlin, 1894. See H. SCHWARZ, *Observationes Criticae in Isidori Hispalensis Origines*, Hirschberg, 1895; C. H. BEESON, *Isidor-Studien*, Munich, 1913; and STANLEY LEATHES' excellent article in the *Dict. of Christ. Biogr*., III.

De Lingnis et Gentibus, De Homine, De Animalibus, De Mundo et Partibus, De Lapidibus et Metallis, etc., — in a word, of everything which stirs our curiosity and is an object of science.

Akin to this fundamental work are 4 others, which follow its method or develop some of its parts: (1) The *Libri Duo Differentiarum — De Differentiis Verborum*, a dictionary of the shades of meaning between words which are or appear to be synonymous, and the *De Differentiis rerum*, a brief explanation of some theological notions; (2) The 2 books of *Synonyma*, a collection of equivalent locutions, presented in a dialogue between an unhappy man and reason; (3) A treatise on physics and cosmography, entitled *De Natura Rerum*, dedicated to King Sisebut (612-621); and (4) A treatise *De Ordine Creaturarum*, summarizing our knowledge of the celestial, terrestrial, and lower worlds.

2. History. — St. Isidore is the author of 3 historical works: (1) A *Chronicle*, reaching to 615, the materials of which are taken from Julius Africanus, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and Victor of Tunnuna (the small chronicle inserted in Book vii of the *Etymologiae* is an extract from this larger one); (2) *Historia de Regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, in which the kings of the Goths alone receive an extensive [372] treatment and which is for us an important source, although itself a compilation; (3) *De Viris Illustribus*, a catalogue of Christian writers continuing that of Gennadius and containing 33 authentic chapters (the first 12 in the longer recension are from another hand). The work was written from 616 to 618.

3. Exegesis. — St. Isidore did not compose any scriptural commentaries properly so called; he published only historical or other explanations. The treatise *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum qui in Scriptura Laudibus Efferuntur*, is a history of the saints of the Old and New Testaments. The *Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae* gives the typical or allegorical significance of important passages of the Bible. A *Liber Numerorum qui in Sanctis Scripturis Occurrunt* explains the mystical meaning of these numbers. The *In Libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti Proœmia* gives a few brief preliminary notices on these different books. Forty-one small biblical questions find their solution in the *De Veteri et Novo Testamento Quaestiones*. And finally, the *Mysticorum Expositioncs Sacramentorum seu Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* give an allegorical interpretation of the great events narrated in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Josue, Judges, Kings, Esdras, and Machabees. These interpretations are borrowed from the writings of more ancient authors.

4. Theology. — The strictly theological works of St. Isidore are few. They are an apology, in 2 books, against the Jews, *De Fide Catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Iudacos ad Florentinam Sororem suam*, and *Libri III Sententiarum*, constructed chiefly from the writings of St. Gregory and forming a complete manual of dogmatic and moral theology.

5. Liturgy. — Of more interest for us than these productions is the work *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, the first book of which, *De Origine Officiorum*, deals with the different parts of divine worship and the Sacraments, while the second book, *De Origine Ministrorum*, treats of the clergy and members of the Church. This is an important document for the history of the early Spanish liturgy.

6. Asceticism and Letters. — We have from St. Isidore a *Regula Monachorum*, in 24 chapters, on all the details of monastic life, and a collection of 11 letters. Letter vii, to Redemptus, does not seem to be authentic. A few hymns [373] attributed to the Bishop of Seville are certainly not from his pen.

The name of St. Isidore is the last to be mentioned in this book. Towards the end of the period of decline which we have just studied, we have met, both in the East and in the West, with new peoples and a changing order of things. St. John of Damascus lived in the midst of Mohammedans, Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus dwelt among the Franks, Boëthius and Cassiodorius wrote among the Ostrogoths, St. Isidore of Seville worked among the Visigoths, and St. Fulgentius engaged in controversy with the Vandals. All strove to preserve what they could of the ancient culture, but were unable to stop its decay. They mark the disappearance of a civilization, seemingly forever, but in reality only to await a renaissance under entirely different conditions.

This eclipse, especially in the West, did not spell death. What elements of goodness and beauty pagan philosophy, literature, and art had in them, was not destined to perish, but the seeds of resurrection and life, sown by Christianity in the soil of ancient society, were one day to develop into a splendid harvest. A day was to come when the alliance of classical literature with Christian ideals, which produced a Chrysostom and an Augustine, was to be renewed, and when "Fathers" in nowise inferior to their predecessors either in doctrine or eloquence, were again to shed renown upon the Church. These later "Fathers" counted it an honor to have received all their learning from their forerunners and to re-echo their teaching before the world.

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